United Nations S/PV.5262

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5262nd meeting

Monday, 19 September 2005, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Djeffal
	Argentina	Mr. D'Alotto
	Benin	Mr. Idohou
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Kitaoka
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Johnston
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mrs. Taj
	United States of America	Mr. Olson

Agenda

Consideration of the draft report of the Security Council to the General Assembly

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-51368 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Consideration of the draft report of the Security Council to the General Assembly

The President: The Security Council will now proceed to the consideration of its annual report to the General Assembly, the draft of which has been prepared by the Secretariat.

Members of the Council have received copies of the draft report of the Security Council to the General Assembly for the period from 1 August 2004 to 31 July 2005, as circulated by the Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs on 31 August 2005.

I should like to express appreciation to the Secretariat for the work it has undertaken in preparing this factual report in a timely manner.

I now call on Mr. Tuliameni Kalomoh, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, to make an explanatory statement.

Mr. Kalomoh (Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs): The draft annual report of the Security Council for the period 1 August 2004 to 31 July 2005, to be submitted to the General Assembly pursuant to Article 15, paragraph 1, and Article 24, paragraph 3, of the United Nations Charter, has been prepared by the Secretariat in accordance with the revised format agreed upon by the Security Council in 2002.

The draft report, in the format before the Council, provides a guide to the activities of the Council in a concise manner. In that connection, I should like to note that this is the fourth report prepared in accordance with the provisions of the note by the President of the Security Council of 22 May 2002 (S/2002/199), which were aimed at enhancing the quality of the report and accommodating the views expressed on the previous format.

Of particular interest is the introduction to the report, which contains an analytical summary of the work of the Council for the period covered by the report.

The President: May I take it that the draft report is adopted by the Council?

There being no objection, it is so decided.

This decision will be reflected in a note by the President of the Security Council, to be issued as document S/2005/582.

The Security Council has thus concluded its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.20 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5263

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5263rd meeting

Monday, 19 September 2005, 12.05 pm

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Katti
	Argentina	Mr. D'Alotto
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Kitaoka
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Dolgov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Johnston
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Mahiga
	United States of America	Mr. Olson

Agenda

The situation in Liberia

Eighth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Liberia (S/2005/560)

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05-51374 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Liberia

Eighth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Liberia (S/2005/560)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the eighth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Liberia, document S/2005/560. Members also have before them document S/2005/591, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1626 (2005).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5264

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5264th meeting

Tuesday, 20 September 2005, 10.55 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Romulo	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Katti
	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	Benin	Mr. Idohou
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	Denmark	Mr. Moeller
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Greece	Mr. Valinakis
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Romania	Mr. Baconschi
	Russian Federation	Mr. Rogachev
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Shareef
	United States of America	Mrs. Patterson

Agenda

The role of civil society in conflict prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes

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05-51380 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The role of civil society in conflict prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Canada, Peru, Slovakia and Switzerland in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, the representatives of the aforementioned countries took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Tuliameni Kalomoh, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs.

It is so decided.

In accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure and the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I welcome the participation of Mr. Paul van Tongeren, Executive Director of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention; Mr. Andrea Bartoli, Chair of the Columbia University Seminar on Conflict Resolution and faculty coordinator of the Columbia University Conflict Resolution Network; and Mr. Vasu Gounden, founder and Executive Director of the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I wish to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/2005/594, which contains the text of a letter dated 7 September 2005 from the Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

On behalf of the members of the Council, I welcome the Ministers of Denmark, Greece, Peru, Romania, Slovakia, Switzerland and the United Republic of Tanzania.

In accordance with the understanding reached among Council members, I wish to remind all speakers to limit their statements to no more than five minutes in order to enable the Council to carry out its work expeditiously. Delegations with lengthy statements are kindly requested to circulate their texts in writing and to deliver a condensed version when speaking in the Chamber.

As another measure to optimize the use our time in order to allow as many delegations to take the floor as possible, I will not individually invite speakers to take seats at the table or invite them to resume their seats at the side of the Council Chamber. When a speaker is taking the floor, the Conference Officer will seat the next speaker on the list at the table.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear briefings by Mr. Paul van Tongeren, Mr. Andrea Bartoli and Mr. Vasu Gounden.

Before giving the floor to those speakers, I shall give the floor to Mr. Tuliameni Kalomoh, Assistant Secretary-General, Department of Political Affairs, to make a statement on behalf of the Secretary-General.

Mr. Kalomoh: First of all, I would like to apologize on behalf of the Secretary-General, who, due to an unavoidable scheduling conflict, is unable to deliver his statement at this important meeting. He has asked me to do so on his behalf, and I have the pleasure of delivering that statement.

> "Last week, world leaders renewed their commitment to promote a culture of prevention of armed conflict as a means of effectively addressing the interconnected security and development challenges of our time. They also pledged to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations for the prevention of armed conflict. And they decided to establish a Peacebuilding Commission that will play a key role in preventing the recurrence of armed conflict.

"Civil society made a significant impact on the process leading to the summit. Last June's hearings marked a new and welcome step forward in United Nations-civil society relations. So did the Conference on the Role of Civil Society in the Prevention of Armed Conflict and Peacebuilding, held in New York last July, where 500 representatives from civil society around the world gathered to adopt an action agenda.

"My message to you today is simple: civil society's role in conflict prevention needs to be fully recognized. Both the United Nations and regional organizations have to do more to tap into civil society's comparative advantages, namely a strong local presence and experience. Local ownership and participation are essential for the success of peace processes, be it conflict prevention, peacemaking or peacebuilding. Dialogue, transparency and accountability must remain a priority.

"Civil society is often far out in front of us in identifying new threats and concerns. This is certainly one of its most important roles. Civil society organizations are also indispensable in 'track-two' and 'people-to-people' diplomacy, which is often integral to successful official diplomacy and post-conflict political and reconciliation processes. At times, they can reach parties on the ground that Governments or the United Nations cannot reach.

"Civil society organizations can also complement the work of the United Nations by offering valuable analyses originating in the field, by forging partnerships to implement United Nations decisions, by increasing the sustainability of United Nations operations and by creating networks to advocate for peacebuilding. For all these reasons, civil society organizations would have an important role to play in the deliberations of the Peacebuilding Commission.

"The 2005 world summit produced some remarkable commitments from Member States. However, for these words to be turned into action, and for prevention and peacebuilding strategies to become more effective, all actors — Governments, international financial institutions, regional organizations and civil society — need to work together as partners.

"I am committed to doing my part, and I urge you all to do yours."

The President: I thank Mr. Kalomoh for his statement. I now give the floor to Mr. Paul van Tongeren, Executive Director of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention.

Mr. Van Tongeren: I am honoured to be invited to this meeting, and I thank the representative of the Philippines very much for this invitation to address the Council today.

Promoting peace and security in the twenty-first century requires a fundamental shift in how we respond to the challenge of violent conflict. It is intolerable that millions of civilians die from violent conflict at a time when the international community has the knowledge and resources to prevent it. As described in the *Human Development Report 2005*, "Violent conflict is one of the surest and fastest routes to the bottom of the [Human Development Index]", and it endangers the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals.

In response to the recommendation on the role of civil society in the Secretary-General's 2001 report on the prevention of armed conflict (S/2001/574), civil society organizations from around the world organized themselves and formed the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict. After three years of dialogue, consultation and research all over the world, 15 regional action agendas and finally one global Action Agenda on conflict prevention and peacebuilding were formulated. These action agendas were presented at the Global Conference on the Role of Civil Society in the Prevention of Armed Conflict and Peacebuilding, which took place in July of this year, here in this building. In the global Action Agenda, we call for a fundamental change in dealing with conflict: a shift from reaction to prevention. We believe that this shift is not only possible but that it is much more cost-effective.

Prevention is at the heart of the United Nations mission and was the founding purpose of the United Nations 60 years ago. Still, this is not reflected in the current design of the United Nations. As stated in the report of the Secretary-General entitled "In larger freedom", peacebuilding is still a "gaping hole in the United Nations institutional machinery" (*A/59/2005, para. 114*).

Following the two high-level reports of 2004, we propose that the United Nations take up a stronger steering and catalyzing role, and act as a convener in the field of peace and security. We recommend that the post of Under-Secretary-General for Peace and Security be created.

Regions or countries prone to conflict should be better monitored. Better early warning indicators and a peacebuilding infrastructure should be developed, based on local capacities for peace.

We believe that it is very important that an update of the 2001 prevention of armed conflict report be released soon. The progress report planned for 2004 is still on hold. We hope, however, that now that the summit is over, that report will be published soon.

In addition, we propose a more in-depth review of the role of the United Nations in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding be undertaken in 2010, by organizing a multi-stakeholder conference on conflict prevention and peacebuilding, aiming for a coherent and integrated approach on prevention and a mid-term review of the Peacebuilding Commission, with input from regional organizations and civil society.

Due to time limitations, I cannot reflect too much here on all the different important roles of civil society, so I will simply say that we strongly support Kofi Annan's conclusion in the Security Council debate on the role of civil society in post-conflict peacebuilding just last year (see S/PV.4993), when he stated that the partnership between the United Nations and civil society is not an option, but a necessity.

The Security Council should reform its working methods to increase legitimacy, inclusiveness and representativity by implementing the recommendations of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations — the Cardoso panel — to strengthen the Council's engagement with civil society and by deepening and improving the planning and effectiveness of the Arria formula meetings by lengthening lead times and covering travel costs to increase the participation of actors from the field. Security Council field missions should meet regularly with appropriate local civil society leaders. Further, the Council should support the establishment of an advisory or expert group on conflict prevention and peacebuilding, to consist of practitioners, academics and representatives of civil society organizations. Within the United Nations country teams a focal point for prevention and peacebuilding should be appointed.

Finally, we support the creation of a Peacebuilding Commission and believe its effectiveness would be enhanced through cooperation with civil society with peacebuilding experience. It should report to the Security Council and to the General Assembly. We ask the Council to support proposals to include in the mandate of the Peacebuilding Commission the establishment of formal country-level mechanisms such as civic forums to ensure that local civil society is a key partner in its efforts.

The President: I now give the floor to the Chair of the Columbia University Seminar on Conflict Resolution and faculty coordinator of the Columbia University Conflict Resolution Network, Mr. Andrea Bartoli.

Mr. Bartoli: I thank the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines, His Excellency Alberto Romulo, and through him the Government of the Philippines and its representatives here in New York, who organized this open debate during its presidency of the Security Council.

I have been asked to present the perspective of academic centres as part of civil society's contribution to conflict prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes, through the lens of the organization I founded in 1997 at Columbia University, here in New York City: the Center for International Conflict Resolution. By the way, some students from the Center are here in the room and I am very pleased to see that. My intuition is that this contribution involves understanding and experimentation.

Human yearning for peace is infinite, and yet at times it lacks proper words and images. Individuals, groups, States and nations fall prey to their own limits as they explore the challenging world in which they exist, to which they belong, for which they toil. The first academic contribution to conflict prevention is therefore to offer, sharpen and sustain the language that allows all of us, as the human family, to understand the conflicts in which we live, the ones that are coming and the ones we fail to recognize.

That is why we must be grateful for the labour and creativity of so many scholars who have given us the words to describe, understand and respond to the

world of conflicts. Without academia we would not use such words as "development" or "genocide" the way we do today. Even the word "prevention" would not be in our vocabulary as it currently is. So I am sure that all in this Chamber are grateful, as I am, to those giants who gave us the International Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations. Many of them were academics, and dedicated to the human family.

They came from all backgrounds and belief systems, for indeed conflicts are a common human experience. All conflict resolution literature is in agreement that conflicts are a part of life, along with disagreements, differences and distances. Conflicts are most commonly solved without resort to violence; actually, most of the time the use of violence exacerbates them.

The second contribution of academia is thus the study of ways in which conflicts have been constructively addressed without resorting to violence. This research is not an empty promise; rather it is recognition that all of us as humans have been fighting against each other and solving conflicts since time immemorial. All human societies have dealt with the fundamental issue of conflict prevention and resolution. All human societies have developed, together with their own language, ways to describe and address conflict constructively.

We must be simultaneously proud and ashamed of this legacy, because on the one hand no human society has ever been completely deprived of peace and on the other hand no human society is ever free from the threat of impending violence and destruction. Academic centres are taking this legacy seriously, incorporating it into the experimentation that is needed to address the impending challenges of the moment.

The role of academics today, as interpreted by a centre of higher learning such as the Center for International Conflict Resolution, is to keep looking for what is still not apparent and to give a name to violence and peace in a way that is attentive to the challenges of the moment, intelligent in its approach, rational in its methods and responsible in its prescriptions. It is a contribution of understanding and experimentation.

An example comes to mind, such as the one advanced by Professor Su Hao, a colleague at the Foreign Affairs University in Beijing, who is working on conflict prevention in a regional context, or by our colleagues at the Swiss Peace Foundation, who are so dedicated to the Early Recognition of Tension and Fact-Finding (FAST) risk profile, an experimental way to provide early warning.

Being part of the Community of Sant'Egidio — the only non-governmental organization cited by the Secretary-General in his 2001 report on the prevention of armed conflict (S/2001/574) — which I have represented at the United Nations since 1992, I had the good fortune of contributing to the peace process in Mozambique. We discovered then that while all can make war, at the same time all can make peace, civil society included. That discovery led to a renewed search in a spirit of thoughtful experimentalism. Columbia University welcomed this innovative approach, which made it possible for the university to become a meaningful point of reference, a space of synthesis and responsibility in the field of international conflict resolution.

Traditionally, universities have been stronger than other sectors of civil society. By educating the elites and often being supported by governing forces, universities have frequently used their autonomy to foster a human search beyond the constraints of institutionalized politics. Universities have been places in which *stabilitas* encounters innovation.

I therefore want to recall that on 26 and 27 April 2006 the prayer for peace that was initiated by Pope John Paul II in Assisi in 1986 will be held in another centre of higher learning: Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. At a time when the use of religion by violent forces seems to be so prevalent, it is indispensable to strengthen the synergy between people of good will and people of learning: believers and seekers, academics and decision makers.

I come from a country, Italy, which takes pride in its many old universities. Names such as Bologna and Padua are recognized everywhere in the world as centres of higher learning. With them, a network of centres of higher learning is now capturing the whole globe from Baghdad to Bombay, from Beijing to Boston. Countries must be proud of their centres of higher learning, and we should all welcome the wisdom of the Hadiths, authentic sayings attributed to the prophet Muhammad, such as "He dies not who gives life to learning".

The Security Council is an extraordinary, unique human space. I hope it will keep its openness to academic learning. Since 1998, the Center for International Conflict Resolution has contributed a course on conflict prevention taught at United Nations Headquarters for United Nations officials, diplomats from the missions and Columbia University students. Ingenuity will lead us to try new solutions and new forms of dialogue and interaction. This very open debate is proof of it.

It is my hope that through the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, which held a very promising meeting last year on academic contributions to peace sponsored by the University of Rome/La Sapienza, and the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, which held its plenary conference here just two months ago, and other channels, free and open communication will be maintained among all centres of learning and the United Nations system.

Let us keep learning together. It was beautifully put by the old rabbis, speaking about shared learning: *O chevruta o mituta*, an Aramaic expression that we can translate as "Either together or dead". Indeed, let us keep learning together and stay alive together.

The President: I now give the floor to the founder and Executive Director of the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, Mr. Vasu Gounden.

Mr. Gounden: Let me take this opportunity to thank the President, his Permanent Mission to the United Nations and his Government, as well as the other members of the Security Council for giving civil society this opportunity to present our views before this body. Your initiative, Mr. President, is a sober reminder of the changes taking place in international relations.

In the report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations, the Chairman of the Panel and former President of Brazil, Mr. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, indicated that,

> "The rise of civil society is indeed one of the landmark events of our times. Global governance is no longer the sole domain of Governments. The growing participation and influence of non-State actors is enhancing democracy and reshaping multilateralism. Civil society organizations are also the prime movers of some of the most innovative initiatives to deal with emerging global threats". (*A/58/817, p. 3*)

It is in this context and with the understanding that the complex conflicts of today require the collective wisdom and effort of all sectors of society in the emergence of a new form of multilateralism based on the opening of the Charter of the United Nations — "We the peoples" — that we the peoples — States, civil society and the private sector — need to forge a new partnership. That partnership must reject distinctions based on wealth and power and on geographic size and population. It must be based on collective wisdom, with each partner driven by its own comparative advantage, expertise and opportunity.

At the outset, let me indicate that we recognize and respect that the settlement of political disputes between States and within States is, and should remain, the domain of nation-States. Civil society should complement the role of nation-States and remain outside the formal structures of the United Nations, since its strength, legitimacy and flexibility derive from its independence.

However, today conflicts are multifaceted and complex in nature, and they increasingly require a comprehensive strategy involving a multiplicity of actors, including civil society. There are many stages to a conflict and many dimensions to a conflict. Depending on the complexity of the conflict all those stages and dimensions require different actors with different strategies and skills.

In our own case, as the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), we have met and worked with warlords in Somalia when many States where not able to meet with them. We have trained and prepared rebel groups in Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo for negotiations, and they will testify to the role that we have played in empowering them to enter negotiations. We have also assisted the Facilitator for the Inter-Congolese Dialogue, former President Masire of Botswana, to prepare his mediation team and advised him on mediation process and strategy during the actual talks.

As we speak, almost 30 United Nations officials from the Department of Peacekeeping Operations are being hosted by our institution in South Africa, for a course for senior mission-leaders. In January 2005, we completed and submitted the post-conflict

reconstruction framework document for the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) after we were commissioned by NEPAD to develop and manage a process for the development of such a document.

These initiatives are practical examples of civil society and governmental and intergovernmental cooperation towards conflict prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes.

I turn now to one of the most important developments to come out of the United Nations reform process: the Peacebuilding Commission. Its introduction and purpose could not have been timelier for a country like Burundi, which has just emerged from conflict but faces huge challenges, has very few resources, and is confronted with competing donor and non-governmental organization (NGO) priorities for assistance. The need could not be more urgent for the centralized coordination of development efforts that bring all actors together to work out, with the Government of the host country and the local population, a post-conflict reconstruction agenda and a sustainable development agenda. However, the Commission will be stillborn unless it can mobilize the broadest set of relevant constituencies. To do that, it must make itself accessible to all relevant actors at the local, national, regional and international levels through all the forums of the United Nations.

In the minute remaining, let me indicate that, apart from a new partnership, the world needs a shared consensus. All good conflict management practitioners know that one cannot make headway in resolving a conflict without first getting the conflicting parties to have a shared understanding of the problems confronting them. In building a new partnership, we need to develop a shared consensus on the nature, causes and manifestations of the security threats that confront the world today. With such a shared understanding, common solutions will follow.

In 1945, we united under this body to bring peace to the world. Today, 60 years later, we are divided about how to bring peace to the world. Let not future generations say that here stood a people who presided over a United Nations of divided nations. Let us forge a new partnership and build a new consensus.

The President: I invite His Excellency Mr. Per Stig Moeller, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, to take the floor.

Mr. Moeller (Denmark): Let me begin by thanking you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting and for directing the attention of the Security Council to the importance of civil society's involvement in conflict prevention and in the pacific settlement of disputes. I also welcome the participation of representatives from civil society in today's meeting, and I am glad to have heard what they have said.

At the outset, I would like to fully associate myself with the statement to be made later this morning by the representative of the United Kingdom on behalf of the European Union.

The approaches that we take to peacebuilding and to conflict prevention must be similar. If we are unable to nurture and build sustainable peace, we cannot prevent new conflicts from breaking out or, indeed, prevent old ones from relapsing into new violence. Consequently, our efforts to establish a Peacebuilding Commission are also relevant from a conflict prevention perspective. The establishment of a Peacebuilding Commission is an inspiration of hope for those who suffer from the effects of armed conflicts. And it brings hope to those civil society organizations and individuals who work tirelessly to raise their societies out of the ashes of conflict. As agreed at the summit, we must ensure that this new body begins its work no later than at the end of this year.

The role played by civil society in conflict prevention is not only important; it is indispensable. Allow me to mention just a few of the situations in which we would be at a loss without civil society.

First, the sustainable, long-term solution for the protection of human security is to address the root causes of conflict. To tackle those causes, it is imperative to involve local civil society. Dialogue and cooperation with civil society is key in our efforts to reach the overarching goal: the continued peaceful development of democratic and pluralistic societies.

In Denmark, we have realized the pivotal role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in conflict prevention. In our Africa Programme for Peace, we are contributing to the work of civil society to enforce its important role in the prevention of local conflicts. Danish NGOs play an active and crucial role in Danish-funded projects throughout the world, and they work closely with local NGOs.

Secondly, a basic prerequisite for conflict prevention is early warning. In order to take timely and sufficient steps to avoid the eruption of conflict, it is imperative that the necessary knowledge and information be available. Early response demands early warning.

No one is better placed to spot the early signs of a potential conflict than civil society. National and international NGOs, national human rights institutes, women's organizations and representatives of minorities and indigenous peoples are all examples of civil society representatives who possess first-hand knowledge of rising tensions in fragile societies. We depend on members of civil society to sound the alarm, and we should listen to them and act when necessary.

Finally, civil society often plays a crucial role as peace facilitators and local partners for mediation between parties in conflict. In societies torn by ethnic, political or religious tension and distrust, the difference between open conflict and reconciliation can be the active involvement of civil society. Confidence-building between estranged parties is the foundation for building the peace.

We have seen how the activities carried out by NGOs often have great impact. Let me cite some examples. In northern Uganda, Denmark supports the activities of Save the Children, which are aimed at creating an enabling environment for peaceful coexistence and peacebuilding. Those activities include peace clubs in schools, parents' support groups to promote conflict prevention and the dissemination of children's peace messages through the mass media. Another example is mine action. A Danish NGO in Afghanistan runs a programme in which ex-combatants are hired to help in mine clearance. In that way, they become peaceful breadwinners, thereby significantly reducing the risk of their recruitment by destabilizing elements.

Civil society cannot play the role of peace facilitators in a vacuum. Civil society needs the support and understanding of national Governments and of the international community, including the Security Council. We need to provide a secure environment in which representatives for civil society can operate; political encouragement and economic support are of equal importance. Capacities for prevention and peacebuilding must be strengthened through further information-sharing, coordination and mutual assistance between Governments and civil society. In that regard, the work of the Peacebuilding Commission would benefit greatly by the involvement of civil society.

The Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. However, the Security Council cannot discharge those duties in solitude. As it is true for civil society, it is equally true for the Council that it cannot play its vital role in a vacuum. The interdependency and the interrelation between the actions taken by the Security Council in New York and the role played by actors in the field, including civil society, call for close dialogue and cooperation.

One concrete step is to have an NGO focal point in United Nations integrated missions. In civil-military planning and in peacebuilding activities, civil society should be considered a partner and a contributor. In general, the views of civil society should be reflected in the reports of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on mandated operations.

Another appropriate area is the development of conflict prevention strategies. The Council should explore new ways in which to establish a cooperative framework with civil society. We could — as the presidency has done today — take greater advantage of the opportunity to invite representatives of civil society to our open meetings, or we could hold traditional informal meetings with NGOs.

In conclusion, dialogue, information-sharing and cooperation between Member States and civil society in New York and, most important, in the field constitute important elements in ensuring that peace and prosperity are not just an aspiration but a fact.

The President: I invite His Excellency Mr. Teodor Baconschi, State Secretary for Global Affairs, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Romania, to take the floor.

Mr. Baconschi (Romania): My delegation is gratified by your presence, Sir, in the chair of the Security Council. I must say that the Council summit held recently under the Philippines presidency made a powerful impression on us. I wish to congratulate you on arranging a timely — and, I trust, rewarding — discussion on the potential of civil society, in particular non-governmental organizations (NGOs), to contribute effectively to United Nations action aimed at averting

conflict or settling disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. That is a rich topic, as it relates to the role of important partners in the peace efforts of the United Nations and of its Security Council. I shall nevertheless be brief, since Romania associates itself with the statement to be delivered by the representative of the United Kingdom on behalf of the European Union.

The international community's approach to conflict prevention and the settlement of disputes continues to evolve in response to the changing nature of threats to peace and security in today's world. In past years, the United Nations system has expanded its capacity for the early detection of potentially dangerous situations, for preventing the escalation of tensions and to help parties to manage and eventually settle peacefully their disputes. However, even when the analytical and planning capacities of the Organization are displayed at their finest, realities on the ground make clear that there is a continuous demand to further identify and put together additional resources.

Our debate today is therefore more than welcome as a means of fostering reflection on enhancing the capacity, knowledge, resources and tools of the United Nations to ensure better outcomes in conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Having acknowledged and taken stock of the ever-growing contribution of civil society in these processes, we should explore further avenues and modalities for its deeper involvement. The added value provided by the participation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations in the work of the United Nations has been repeatedly emphasized in this very Chamber, where we recognized that these components of civil society are highly instrumental in making a difference at practically all stages of a conflict and in ensuring that whatever political solutions emerge to end a conflict are durable and sustainable.

Such organizations are actively involved in conflict prevention, based on a series of assets such as firsthand knowledge of the situation on the ground and unhindered contacts with the relevant players. As a result, in certain cases, NGOs and civil society organizations are more effective in sensing emerging crises, thus becoming invaluable resources for a dedicated early warning system for international agencies acting in the field.

In other cases, such organizations are able to produce the most accurate assessment of the danger of escalation in a specific dispute, which is always a crucial element in halting a conflict before it actually breaks out. Moreover, unlike international involvement, which is occasional, temporary and fragmented, the continued presence of civil society creates opportunities to build long-term relationships, thus creating a sense of trust among the parties to a dispute as well as opening up more reliable and sustainable channels for dialogue. The longevity of their presence and their subsequently enhanced credibility provide civil society organizations with a superior capacity to access and influence actors involved in the peaceful settlement of disputes, and they allow them to explore innovative ways and means to assist in the process. Finally, since most of today's conflicts have at their core ethnic or religious issues, neutral actors such as multi-ethnic or inter-faith-based civil society organizations are in a privileged position to overcome sectarian divisions and foster better understanding among the religious and ethnic components of society.

Given the potential represented by the knowledge and intuitive understanding of civil society actors, emphasis should be placed on promoting an improved and upgraded cooperation between the United Nations system and civil society organizations, to make activities associated with conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes more sustainable and cost-effective. Conflict prevention encompasses modalities such as participation, empowerment and national ownership, enabling a timely reaction before a dispute reaches the conflict stage. The international community must help to foster home-grown political processes in which civil society shares ownership of prevention processes with the international community and local governmental actors.

Dialogue among civil society actors is to be encouraged and facilitated to allow for healthy debate, nurture transformations, build consensus and translate policy into practice. In countries where communities are distrustful of one another or where conflict has deeply eroded societal structures, there is a particularly great need to explore all effective models for participatory conflict prevention and dispute settlement, including, as appropriate, enhanced

cooperation between civil society organizations and the United Nations system and its relevant mechanisms and partners.

In that context, I would like to highlight the role of the media. By giving voice and visibility to all people — including and especially the poor, the marginalized and members of minority groups — the media are well placed to help remedy inequalities, corruption, ethnic tensions and the human rights abuses that form the root causes of so many conflicts. Since the worldwide toll of journalists and critical support staff killed covering the story of a conflict or a post-conflict situation has been spiralling, we should also contemplate more thoroughly the need to promote and ensure respect for freedom of expression and opinion, as well as the basic principles of international humanitarian law.

We witnessed on Friday the adoption of the outcome document of the high-level plenary meeting of the General Assembly of September 2005. We commend the recognition of the positive contribution of civil society, including non-governmental organizations, in the promotion and implementation of development and human rights programmes, which ultimately are key factors in the prevention of conflicts, and of the importance of their continued engagement with Governments, the United Nations and other international organizations.

The contribution of civil society to conflict prevention and management is also an important "lessons learned" chapter from the developing story of enhancing the relationship of the United Nations with regional organizations. Such an understanding of multilateralism is aimed at creating more appropriate avenues and mechanisms for cooperation with a view to the better implementation of our common tasks.

Mr. Valinakis (Greece): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you for having convened this meeting on a most important and timely issue. I wish also to thank you for having provided us with a useful concept paper. Greece fully aligns itself with the statement to be made by the United Kingdom on behalf of the European Union.

The prevention of violent conflicts lies at the heart of the United Nations mandate. In the past few years, many efforts have been made to increase the effectiveness of the Organization in this field and to move from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention.

The report of the Secretary-General of 2001 entitled "Prevention of armed conflict" gives conflict prevention a prominent place in the agenda of the United Nations and emphasizes its importance for the establishment of lasting peace and security. The same report and Security Council resolution 1366 (2001) clearly recognize that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society play an important supporting role in national efforts for conflict prevention.

We have also witnessed increasing activity on the part of the Security Council in the field of conflict prevention and closer interaction in this regard with civil society. This has been manifested in its various fact-finding and confidence-building missions to areas of potential armed conflict. The Council also receives and considers a significant number of reports containing information provided by NGOs concerning situations that threaten the political stability and prosperity of States.

Important conferences have also been held recently, and the recommendations that have been made could move the process significantly forward.

The prevention of conflicts is a difficult and complex activity that requires the involvement of many actors. Today the task of conflict prevention lies not only with national Governments and the United Nations but also with civil society, such as NGOs, the private sector and development agencies.

There has been a general realization that most of today's internal conflicts are caused mainly by weak governance, the absence of democratic institutions, large-scale abuses of human rights, lack of socio-economic development, systematic ethnic discrimination, the previous history of the conflict and its regional context.

In our view, civil society can play a crucial role in the prevention of conflicts by providing independent analysis of a particular situation, by addressing the root causes of conflicts at an early stage, by educating people on the horrors of war and by raising public awareness on those issues and thus mobilizing political will and action. Moreover, international and local NGOs, due to their flexibility, outreach and commitment, can respond rapidly to early signs of tensions that have the potential to escalate into a

violent conflict. NGOs can also provide a continuous platform for debate and a tool for action and hence secure greater responsiveness and accountability.

Civil society and NGOs complement the efforts of the United Nations. Indeed, in many of today's multifunctional peacekeeping operations, civilian and military tools are mutually reinforcing and play an important role in promoting lasting peace and development. In the post-conflict phase, civil society is engaged in numerous activities, such as promoting human rights and the rule of law, strengthening democratization, consolidating peace and reconciliation, disarming and reintegrating ex-combatants and providing civic education, training and research.

Although civil society and NGOs can play a vital role in the democratic process and in consolidating durable peace and stability, still their capacity, and particularly that of local actors, is weak. In our view, that capacity should be further built and developed. In that respect, closer and better coordination and cooperation with the United Nations and with regional and subregional organizations is needed.

The United Nations should also better integrate the views and insights of those important stakeholders into its policy measures on conflict prevention. The Security Council, in particular, should be aware of those views through the reports it receives on potential conflict situations. The Council should also take into consideration the views of local actors when visiting areas of potential conflict. The Arria formula meetings are particularly useful tools since they provide the Security Council with independent information concerning situations that could potentially destabilize a country. Those meetings have mobilized the opinions of Council members on the need for preventive action. We strongly support their continuation in the future.

In conclusion, I would like to stress my country's full support for all the conflict prevention activities of this Organization. We believe, however, that the future strategies of the United Nations in this area should involve mostly local actors and should build their capacity to prevent and resolve local conflicts. Durable peace can be established only if the needs of the people concerned are adequately addressed and their views and voice have been heard.

The President: I invite His Excellency Mr. Abdulkader Shareef, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the United Republic of Tanzania to take the floor.

Mr. Shareef (United Republic of Tanzania): I wish to thank the Secretary of State of the Philippines for convening this important session. I wish also to thank Mr. Paul van Tongeren, Mr. Andrea Bartoli and Mr. Vasu Gounden for their insightful presentations.

We find the topic of today's debate useful and relevant to that of last week's Security Council summit. Whereas the summit focused on the role of States and intergovernmental institutions in preventing and resolving conflicts, today's topic on the role of civil society in the same endeavour is a complementary imperative.

In today's conflicts and wars and in this era of terrorism the major victims are ordinary men, women and children. Civil society should, therefore, have a high stake in preventing conflicts, as they are the immediate beneficiaries of peace and security in every society. The role and effectiveness of civil society in preventing conflicts and promoting peace and security are enhanced by the extent to which civil liberties are enjoyed in that society: by permitting freedom of expression and association in shaping and influencing opinion and allowing for participation in political action on issues of conflict, peace and security at both the national and international levels.

The primary focus for action to prevent conflicts in a democratic society should be national parliaments. Citizens and their organizations are the constituencies to whom legislators are accountable. Civil society — as individuals or community organizations, with the help of the media — is strategically placed to influence the policies and decisions on conflicts and peace and to persuade or compel Governments to take timely and appropriate action to avert impending conflicts. To that extent, Governments should be partners with civil society in preventing conflicts.

Civil society organizations — especially institutions such as universities, research centres, the media and human rights groups — should be in the forefront in the early detection of systemic stresses and strains on society that could be the root causes of violent conflicts. Early warnings of impending crises have often come from civil society. The same organizations should generate awareness and spur early political action nationally, regionally and internationally to defuse and resolve problems which

could develop into violent conflicts and wars. That role requires organization, capacity-building and networking among civil society organizations with different mandates.

Civil society organizations have been instrumental in reducing or resolving conflicts between groups and nations by maintaining informal lines of communication to promote understanding. They have been useful in decreasing tension, anger, fear and misperceptions between conflicting parties. They have also been able to facilitate and prepare the groundwork for more formal negotiations. They should be encouraged to use their specialized knowledge, experience and resources in assisting conflicting parties to resolve their differences and foster reconciliation. Civil society organizations have the advantage of informality and are less politically constrained from taking action in a critical manner, but they should also remain constructive and responsible.

At the same time, we should be on our guard and not hesitate to take preventive action against sections of civil society that deliberately engage in propagating, inciting and fuelling conflicts. Only last week we were compelled to take action in a case of incitement to terrorism. Our memories of the virulent propaganda of Radio Mille Collines, which spread the ideology of genocide in Rwanda, are still fresh, and we are striving to moderate inflammatory journalism in sections of the media in Côte d'Ivoire to rescue the peace process there.

While acknowledging the positive contribution of civil society organizations in preventing and resolving conflicts, our practical experience in the Great Lakes region of Africa has taught us that proximity matters when it comes to preventive action. Our specific recommendation, then, is that civil society organizations near conflict areas should play a proactive role and seize the initiative to move Governments to take action to prevent and resolve conflicts. Other non-governmental organizations outside the neighbourhood of the conflict should play a complementary role.

Encouraged by Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), the role of women's organizations in conflict resolution in the Great Lakes region has been effective and encouraging. Women's organizations are currently playing an active role in preparing for the next Great Lakes region summit in Nairobi later this year.

Let me conclude by emphasizing the importance of partnerships in conflict prevention and resolution. We need to build an effective partnership between States and civil society organizations so that they can be twin pillars of conflict prevention and resolution efforts. We should also establish a firm collaborative partnership between States, civil society, regional organizations and the United Nations system that can help create a more peaceful world.

Finally, let us create meaningful partnerships between national, regional and international civil society organizations, including with the United Nations, at all levels. The Security Council will be able to make more and better informed decisions with input from civil society, as has been aptly demonstrated under the Arrias formula relationships.

The President: I invite His Excellency Mr. Eduard Kukan, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, to take the floor.

Mr. Kukan (Slovak Republic): Slovakia appreciates and commends the efforts of the Philippines presidency of the Security Council, which took the initiative for our thematic debate today. We feel very strongly about the role played by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in conflict prevention and would like to add several observations in our national capacity and from our own experience.

We find it very reasonable and worthwhile that the Security Council would like to lend a helping hand in the area of prevention and conflict resolution to the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, an integrated, global programme for research, consultation and discussion, as well as to thousands of small activists on the ground at locations of emerging or full-on conflicts. For the same reason, it is necessary that we support the conclusions of a number of events jointly organized by the United Nations Department of Public Information and the NGOs.

The citizens of Central Europe had an opportunity to experience the strength of civil society in the 1990's. Civil society offered them a peaceful road to the resolution of inter-ethnic issues lingering from the past and served as a catalyst for political change. In Slovakia, we have very fresh memories of that period, when our country was overlooked at the corner of the international democratic community for our own political reasons. The period was a cradle of cooperation between forces oriented towards

democracy and like-minded civil society entities. Due to the aforementioned specific track, Slovak NGOs gained an assortment of practical knowledge, skills and experience, which can be seen as very specific civil society know-how.

Nowadays, the cooperation between Slovak diplomacy and NGOs is broadly used in several fields, such as domestic and foreign affairs, official development assistance and democratization processes in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Such NGO engagement helps to avoid the risk of conflict and possible destabilization of the region as a whole.

The birth of this systematic cooperation dates back to the late 1990's. It was also the time when the bloodiest conflict in Europe since the Second World War, which took place in the former Yugoslavia, was coming to an end. In my country, we initiated the so-called Bratislava process, which involved, alongside democratic representatives from the former Yugoslavia, various Slovak NGO entities and those from the former Yugoslavia. The Bratislava process contributed its own part to peaceful political change in Belgrade and the fall of the Slobodan Milosevic regime.

In the last few years, civil society organizations in Central and Eastern Europe undoubtedly have demonstrated their capacity for tolerant and peaceful means of conflict prevention. I can well recall the respect for non-violence shown by youth movements and a variety of Ukrainian NGOs during the recent so-called Orange Revolution.

Finally, facing the threats and challenges of the twenty-first century, we believe that the United Nations needs to be able to intervene to avert regional and local conflicts more effectively. In order to enable the Organization to really do so, we are convinced that it might be of tremendous benefit for it to maintain a constant and effective dialogue with the NGO sector, a sector that would operate courageously at centres of conflict. This applies especially to prevention and post-conflict periods, because, during a conflict, NGO operations are objectively limited, perhaps with the exception of deliveries of humanitarian aid.

Therefore, let us follow the slogan, "cooperation is appreciated", also speaking of the contribution of NGOs to conflict prevention. Let us combine the same goals and diverse tools, and we can profit more for the benefit of us all.

The President: I invite His Excellency Mr. Oscar Maúrtua de Romaña, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru, to take the floor.

Mr. Maúrtua (Peru) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me to congratulate you, Mr. Minister for Foreign Affairs, for the manner in which the Philippines is carrying out its role as President of the Security Council, which involves this initiative to discuss the role of civil society in conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

In the last decade, the nature of conflict has varied substantially. We are no longer dealing with conflicts between nation-States, but rather with armed domestic conflicts within States. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, more than 33 civilian conflicts have started or have been reactivated, leaving close to 5 million dead, 17 million refugees and serious humanitarian crises. Today, several of these domestic armed conflicts occupy a large part of this Council's agenda and have warranted the deployment of complex peacekeeping operations.

For Peru, the role of civil society — that is, organized non-governmental social actors such as NGOs, unions, business associations, academic groups, student and religious groups, among others — is fundamental in both the prevention of domestic armed conflict and their contribution towards peacemaking and national reconstruction efforts. The need to have a civil society whose primary role is the prevention of armed conflict is undeniable.

Since in this debate we are confining ourselves to the prevention of conflict and the role of civil society, I will focus my comments on three subjects: first, the conditions that lead to such conflicts; secondly, the action of civil society in the prevention of conflict; and finally, phenomena that threaten collective security.

As has been recalled at the current High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly, security, development and respect for human rights converge in the prevention of conflicts — that is to say, it is the precarious levels of life and the exclusion affecting a great part of the population, particularly in the countries with the lowest indices of human development, that become a threat to security and where the majority of conflicts that we face today have their origin. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the majority of these conflicts take place in the African continent.

This is why we regard as very positive Council resolution 1625 (2005) of 14 September, which reaffirms the need to adopt a strategy for the prevention of conflicts that takes into account the basic causes of these conflicts and that pays special attention to building the preventive capabilities required in Africa.

Work on development policies, including building their own national capacities, is the primary preventive action those countries require. Thus, we need a new multilateral partnership for collective peace and security that tackles the various adverse factors that developing countries face, such as education, health, trade, investment, technology and foreign debt, among many others.

There are various ways civil society can and should contribute to conflict prevention, in relation to situations at risk of turning violent and to the transformation of the conditions that create those situations.

Civil society has the duty to warn of situations where political violence is imminent. It must fight for public freedoms, the freedom of expression and the construction of legitimate and democratic institutions that ensure the rule of law and good governance. It must keep watch on transparency in the public administration's use of resources, which are often scarce. It must be uncompromising with respect to corruption and be an active agent for denouncing the illegal traffic of small arms and light weapons and transnational organized crime.

Civil society must also be an agent of alternatives for scientific and technological development in order to optimize the management of natural resources. It must support preventive diplomacy and mediation, including through the peaceful settlement of conflicts, when it is entrusted with those tasks. Through the action of local and international non-governmental organizations, civil society also has an active role to play in helping to mobilize the international community's resources and to guide the best use of international cooperation, among other tasks.

In the end, when civil society does not contribute to conflict prevention, when its capacities are not called on or when its voice is silenced, it can end up caught in the problem of confrontation and polarization that generates violence, while the social fabric that it represents and in which it functions is torn apart. When there is no space in which civil society can act, the risk of an escalation of violence grows exponentially. That is why the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the future Peacebuilding Commission, maintains contact with civil society, not only for settling conflicts and laying the foundations for the national reconstruction of failed States but also for the prevention of such conflicts.

Thus, a number of practical mechanisms are needed so that those bodies remain informed of the situation of civil society through other actors, rather than exclusively through dialogue with government. Those contacts could include prestigious NGOs such as Doctors without Borders, Care International and Amnesty International and, above all, contacts with national civil society, with local NGOs that are part of the society in which a violent conflict is emerging.

Regrettably, in the outcome document of the High-level Plenary Meeting, the focus on prevention is limited. It is therefore appropriate to encourage the mobilization of civil society in the prevention of conflicts. It is not only a question of avoiding violent conflicts that exacerbate poverty and underdevelopment, displace millions of people, destroy property and infrastructure and leave social scars that are very difficult to heal. It is more a human and, of course, economic issue. It is a question of providing resources for the development of societies before those funds later have to be spent on costly military operations and colossal reconstruction efforts, which are not necessarily successful.

Finally, I want to refer to potential conflict areas that some sectors of civil society have repeatedly brought to the attention of States. One such area is environmental degradation, which has exacerbated the destructive potential of natural disasters and, in some cases, has even provoked such disasters. Another is that of limited resources such as water. Peru, a highly diverse country whose topography encompasses the ocean, an arid coast, the Andes and the Amazon, is very concerned about such conclusions, which are based on studies that need to be expanded and furthered rather than hidden or watered down.

The report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (*A/59/565*) considered that environmental degradation and the destructive nature of natural disasters constitute a threat to global

security. Therefore, with the support of civil society, we must continue to carry out a strategic, shared vision of sustainable development whose three dimensions — economic, social and environmental — are given adequate consideration.

Peru aspires to join once again in the work of the Security Council next January, after more than two decades. If that comes to be, Peru will make the problems I have mentioned and the important role of civil society relevant elements in its approach to the complex situations on the agenda of this noble Council.

The President: I give the floor to Her Excellency Mrs. Micheline Calmy-Rey, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Switzerland.

Mrs. Calmy-Rey (Switzerland) (*spoke in French*): First, let me thank you, Mr. President, for convening this debate. Switzerland, as co-chair of the Group of Friends on conflict prevention, has a special interest in this important topic.

Civil society, whether at the local or international level, is well placed to send out early-warning signals of emerging crises; analyse the social and cultural roots of a conflict; broaden the range of issues to be addressed in a peace agreement in order to better reflect the full scope of public concerns; gain access to militant movements when official actors encounter practical or political difficulties; prevent, address and resolve disputes at the community level; promote respect for international human rights and humanitarian standards by all State and non-State parties; and promote social and political reconciliation in the aftermath of violence.

The involvement of civil society is useful not only in elaborating a peace agreement; it also offers a way to ensure an agreement's success. Peace settlements enjoy greater legitimacy and sustainability if they are anchored in societies and reflect the needs of the various sectors of the population.

In that context, two important questions need to be asked. First, at the institutional level, how can cooperation between the Security Council and civil society organizations be strengthened? Secondly, at the policy level, how can civil society's contributions in peace-settlement and peacebuilding efforts be better integrated?

With respect to the institutional level, I strongly believe that the creation of a Peacebuilding Commission, to which Member States have just agreed, is a valuable opportunity to promote civil society's involvement in conflict prevention and peacebuilding efforts. Switzerland proposes the inclusion of the principal institutional actors of the United Nations in the deliberations of the Commission. I am thinking in particular of the chair of the United Nations Development Group, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and/or the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Those three institutions already have solid experience in cooperation with civil society. Furthermore, we propose that the Peacebuilding Commission directly involve representatives of civil society, academic institutions and the private sector when that is useful. Thus, rather than creating additional institutional frameworks for cooperation with civil society, we should elaborate a mandate for the Peacebuilding Commission that allows for the involvement of all relevant actors, including civil society.

In a more general context, I believe it is essential for the Security Council to have a genuine partnership with the Economic and Social Council, which possesses complementary expertise and privileged links with civil society. The new Peacebuilding Commission could provide a framework for strengthening such cooperation between the Council and the Economic and Social Council.

At the policy level, Switzerland welcomes the fact that the Security Council has been giving increased attention in recent years to reconciliation and post-conflict reconstruction. I should like to encourage the Council to continue to explore how civil society can better contribute to those efforts. This could be done, for example, by systematically examining the past and the potential role of civil society in peace processes when designing peace operations and systematically applying the principles of resolution 1325 (2000) when assessing peace missions.

Women and girls are particularly affected by armed conflict. I therefore attach the greatest importance to the equal participation of women in peace and reconstruction processes. Sustainable peace agreements can be reached only if the entire population has a voice in shaping them. Resolution 1325 (2000) represents a milestone in that direction, and we must continue our efforts to translate it into action, in particular by supporting women's organizations working in the field in the service of peace.

The United Nations must serve as an example in involving civil society in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The partnerships that already exist between the United Nations and independent institutions can provide a useful means of developing such civil society participation. Switzerland supports a number of institutions that have strong links with the United Nations, such as the Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining; the Geneva Centre for Security Policy; the Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces; the Harvard Program on Humanitarian Policies and Conflict Research; the Small Arms Survey; and the Geneva-based War-torn Society Project International.

My country also actively supports civilian initiatives to promote peace, such as the Geneva Initiative, which had its origin in Israeli and Palestinian civil societies. That initiative, which is fully in line with and complementary to the third phase of the Quartet's road map, proposes a comprehensive and realistic model for a permanent agreement that takes into account the vital interests and aspirations of both Israelis and Palestinians.

In conclusion, I should like to recall that Switzerland has extensive experience in cooperating with civil society organizations. We intend to continue our efforts to strengthen the participation of civil society in conflict prevention and settlement, as well as in peacebuilding.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU) and the 12 countries that have aligned themselves with this statement.

May I first thank you, Mr. President, for having arranged this debate. I would also like to thank Assistant Secretary-General Kalomoh and our colleagues from civil society, Mr. Van Tongeren, Mr. Bartoli and Mr. Gounden, for the insights that they have bought to our discussion. It is good that we should hear those statements before contributing ourselves.

The European Union has cause to be grateful for the role that civil society has played over the past two decades in contributing to the prevention of violent conflict and peacebuilding throughout the world, including within the European Union's own neighbourhood. We recognize the contribution that civil society makes to strengthening democracy and promoting human rights, both within individual nations and at the global level. Civil society plays an essential role in all phases of the conflict cycle.

Let us be frank: there are different views among members of the Council on the legitimacy of some civil society organizations and on the role that such organizations should be allowed to play in comparison with that played by Governments. The European Union believes that all United Nations Member States should accept the legitimate right of civil society to express views, make recommendations and express concerns and disagreements with Governments, even though at times that may be a difficult process. It is through such genuine dialogue that democracy is strengthened and that Governments are better able to meet the needs of their people.

We should ensure — post-summit — that we all do more to prevent conflict. In that respect, the United Nations itself needs to be much more active. Governments and civil society must work closely together to reduce the risks of violent conflict breaking out. International and regional organizations must also engage purposefully with civil society if they are to be effective in addressing and managing conflict. With that objective in mind, the EU strongly supports many of the recommendations of the Cardoso report on United Nations-civil society relations, published one year ago.

Local civil society's understanding of points of tension can give useful early-warning indicators. For example, civil society can draw attention to violations of human rights, which can often be an early indication of incipient conflict. The EU believes that the new Human Rights Council should have clear means for interaction with civil society and that the High Commissioner for Human Rights should continue to engage with civil society regularly.

Interaction between civil society and the international community is vital if we are to carry out our responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity — as recognized, for the first time, at last week's summit. Civil society can also help reduce hostility and begin the rebuilding of trust between different groups that might otherwise resort to fighting. In particular, the role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, as we have just heard, is vital in

rebuilding the peace after conflict, just as resolution 1325 (2000) underlined.

For its part, the EU has given considerable resources to supporting civil society in its role in preventing and resolving conflict and in post-conflict peacebuilding. In the Sudan, the European Centre for Development Policy Management, supported by the international non-governmental organization, Saferworld, has facilitated capacity-building for civil society in both political dialogue and development programming. In Nepal over the past three years, the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights has undertaken microprojects on empowerment and human rights education.

The EU has had a long-term confidence-building programme in Georgia, aimed at building capacity among a range of peacebuilding non-governmental organizations (NGOs). We also work closely with many international and national NGOs in developing strategies on conflict prevention and work on what to do about fragile States.

I would like to say a few words about the first Global Conference on the Role of Civil Society in the Prevention of Armed Conflict and Peacebuilding, about which Mr. Van Tongeren has already spoken to us. The Conference set out principles for the engagement of civil society in this field and agreed a wide-ranging agenda for action. We particularly agree with the Conference recommendation for a structural mechanism for consultation with civil society and the new Peacebuilding Commission. Like the three representatives of civil society and many other speakers, the European Union believes that proper interaction between civil society and the work of the Peacebuilding Commission will better permit the Commission to do its work. We need to profit from the experience and views of those working on the front line. We also agree that the Peacebuilding Commission might, in due course, play its own part in supporting States, at their request, when they are on the verge of lapsing or relapsing into conflict.

The paper circulated as food for thought for this meeting raised the question of collaboration between the Security Council and civil society in the development of conflict-prevention strategies.

When Security Council missions visit regions at risk of conflict, they should take time for meetings with local civil society, as Council missions to Africa have done in the past two years.

The Security Council should also continue, in our view, discussions with civil society here in New York. The Arria formula meetings are extremely useful for that purpose. Those meetings bring the Council reliable and independent information about the situation on the ground in a particular area of tension, and often new ideas for possible resolutions.

In addition to the Arria meetings, the Council should also consider inviting representatives from civil society to address it during its debates. We should do that more frequently.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate the European Union's interest in seeing the dialogue between the Security Council and civil society strengthened. Let us be brave enough to listen to points of view from across the spectrum, because through this dialogue we will make better policies and have greater opportunities to ensure that those policies become effective. We all share an interest in the prevention of conflict, and civil society can and does make a vital contribution. We should recognize it and benefit from it.

Mr. Idohou (Benin) (*spoke in French*): Mr. President, my delegation thanks your country for having organized this public debate, which allows us to reflect further on conflict prevention, following the adoption of resolution 1625 (2005) on this question at the Security Council summit held on 14 September 2005. We listened with genuine interest to the contributions of the representatives of civil society on its role, and we express our deepest appreciation to them.

The emergence of civil society at the both the national and the international levels as an autonomous actor and as a force of change results from a remarkable awakening of the governed, and from progress in communications technology. This phenomenon is one of the essential characteristics of globalization. Organized society is hardly a recent phenomenon. As long ago as the nineteenth century, Tocqueville hailed the movement of associations in American society as reflecting citizen participation which could generate social progress. But never before in human history has civil society asserted itself so ambitiously to participate in decision-making in the

public sphere, in local communities, in national life and in international life.

While public power as represented by the State embodies the exercise of State authority, and leads to a given reality, civil society, for its part, is the seat of the moral conscience and the place where the aspirations and expectations of the governed are voiced. Civil society is a driving force for public protest and even an additional actor, although its purpose is in no way to supplant the State's governing function. It aims to contribute to the monitoring of the Government sphere and give legitimacy to its actions. When these functions are well understood on all sides, there can be at least a relationship of tolerance, but also one of mutual benefit and even of partnership, which makes it possible to develop a synergy that benefits society as a whole.

Civil society has real potential in shaping the public sphere and in acting as a social intermediary, and thus in the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prevention of violent conflicts. The complexity of problems and challenges related to preserving State stability and to the promotion of worldwide sustainable development requires a participatory national and international mobilization. The role of civil society is considerable in this. An effective conflict prevention strategy requires the active involvement of civil society in order to make best use of the comparative advantages of civil society. The Constitive Act of the African Union rightly emphasizes the need to establish a partnership between Governments and all segments of civil society.

Thanks to its involvement in society and its retention of an identity distinct from that of the State apparatus, civil society can contribute to early warning mechanisms. This function has become particularly well developed in recent years, where civil society has shown its capacity to organize the collection, analysis and assessment of first-hand information on underlying trends of national communities, which allows for the identification of sources of potential tension and latent conflicts that could escalate. The West African Network for Peacebuilding has been outstanding in this field, working to strengthen regional conflict prevention capacities, in close cooperation with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Civil society can encourage well-targeted locally-based action to reduce tension in crises and crucial phases of processes which could escalate out of control. By way of example, let us recall the calming and moderating role played by non-governmental organizations in the holding of elections, through, among other methods, civic education, education for tolerance and election monitoring in order to strengthen the candidates' confidence in the legality of the balloting, and so forth. Civil society thereby contributes to the promotion of a culture of peace in the countries concerned.

Civil society can contribute to mobilizing national and international solidarity to support self-help efforts of disadvantaged communities and people who are victims of social exclusion, above all when a scarcity of income causes increased rivalry for access to power in order to gain control of resources mobilized by the State.

Civil society can mediate between conflicting groups competing for power by promoting the consolidation of democratic institutions and the peaceful transfer of power and through its ability to lend legitimacy to those who govern. This role was clear in the central and recognized position of certain moral or religious authorities in the national conferences held in Africa in the 1990s, which served as forum for dialogue and arbitration of national conflict. The great majority of such forums, brought about peaceful regime change. This was the case in my own country.

Civil society can also help focus popular movements seeking peaceful regime change in a crisis of legitimacy or a breach of the national consensus, and can provide new, visionary, honest leadership to get a country which is in difficulty back on track.

Nonetheless, the structures of civil society can be operated effectively only when their level of organization and their influence on the society concerned so allow. It is in the interest of Government leaders throughout the world to be aware of the advantages of promoting the emergence of a responsible civil society at both the national and international levels. Such awareness can help civil society organizations acquire the means of best fulfilling their social role and can promote their mobilization at the international level, as well as their access to intergovernmental decision-making centres

where disputes are settled and where development and cooperation policies are defined at different levels. Here they can provide their local know-how in the field and can better determine the details of decisions made in order to contribute to their implementation or to provide oversight for them.

The Security Council is in the forefront of this new awareness. This has led, over the past several years, to the regular holding of Arria formula meetings with civil society organizations, which now go beyond international non-governmental organizations to encompass local non-governmental organizations, both in New York and, during Security Council missions, in the field. We reiterate here our support for the recommendations made by the Secretary-General's Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations, especially as regards the relations between the Security Council and civil society.

We also encourage the United Nations to study carefully the contribution of international NGOs and civil society to our reflection on the ways and means of ensuring better prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes, as summarized in the final document of the Forum held by the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict at United Nations Headquarters from 19 to 21 July 2005. It contains very relevant recommendations for the coordination of consistent strategies for the promotion of conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): I am pleased to join previous speakers in welcoming you, Mr. Secretary, and in congratulating your delegation on convening this meeting on such a highly relevant subject. It is indeed an honour to have His Excellency Mr. Alberto Romulo presiding over our session today. I thank Assistant Secretary-General Kalomoh for his statement and welcome the valuable contributions made by Mr. Paul van Tongeren, Mr. Andrea Bartoli and Mr. Vasu Gounden.

For decades, our concept of security has been associated with military response. This unidimensional approach is now, however, being redefined to integrate root causes of conflict into the concept of security threat. Conflict prevention is directly dependent on a certain level of quality of life. Hunger, poverty, poor health and lack of education, although not necessarily the direct causes, are powerful factors in catalysing conflict.

It is time for the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, to consider managing the interconnection of various political and socio-economic factors in conflict situations. This approach makes explicit the need for an increasing role for civil society in conflict prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes.

Citizen-based associations and movements, educational institutions, charities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and even corporations now show a growing understanding that they should also contribute to common efforts towards avoiding the scourge of conflict or preventing the relapse into conflict after a peacekeeping operation is deployed. Their participation is more than welcome and will be complementary to the initiatives of Governments.

The Secretary-General's Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations concluded that the constructive engagement with civil society must promoted for the identification of global priorities and the mobilization of resources. According to the Panel, chaired by the former President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the engagement of civil society is not a threat to Governments, but a powerful way to reinvigorate domestic policies for the well-being of populations.

When peace processes are bei g implemented, the contribution of civil society is particularly relevant to promote inclusiveness and local ownership, including through increasing public awareness and turning public opinion in favour of peace initiatives. Their participation is also welcome in promoting reconciliation and education for peace.

A word must also be said for the need to explore synergies and complementarities among civil society, Governments, regional organization and the United Nations. Their efforts must be coherent and compatible with this Organization's legitimacy as the main global actor in peace and security.

I should stress the need for increased attention to the coordinated planning of our response to crisis with the help of specific mechanisms for that purpose in the United Nations. Accordingly, we hope the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission will be of much help.

Available instruments must be constantly improved and adapted to the changing needs of our

response to crisis. In particular, a joint reflection on the roles and responsibilities of different actors will allow the United Nations to devise increasingly efficient ways to mobilize and finance civilian capabilities on a global basis to assist countries threatened with conflict.

Meeting the complex changes of conflict prevention and the settlement of disputes cannot be attained without the mobilization of a wide range of actors and the ability to make full use of the expertise, resourcefulness and comparative advantages of all sectors of society. Before the eruption of conflict, early analysis, early warning and preventive diplomacy are sorely needed. And in a post-conflict phase, structural rebuilding and long-term reconciliation have become as important as military response.

In dealing with an ever-changing array of conflicts, increased attention has to be paid to all fundamental political, economic, social and humanitarian dimensions. The complexity and sensitivity of the United Nations role have multiplied our responsibilities. Our contribution to peace has been and must continue to be enriched by the active participation of civil society.

Mr. Mayoral (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, Mr. President, my delegation congratulates you on having convened this debate on the role of civil society in conflict prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes. Also, I am grateful for the constructive and interesting statements by the representatives by civil society who are with us today: Mr. Paul van Tongeren, Mr. Andrea Bartoli and Mr. Vasu Gounden. I thank them for their statements, which will help us adapt to what is a new framework for the United Nations and for the Security Council.

Since the inception of the United Nations, the way in which societies evolve has been changing. This has been especially true in recent decades as new actors have been incorporated into the national decision-making processes, which had previously been conducted exclusively by Government representatives. As a consequence of this evolution, consultation with civil society is today an element that cannot be avoided in a nation's decision-taking process.

This evolution is positive because by giving decisions a better substantive base it contributes to better identifying priorities and allocating resources with a broader social consensus. This unquestionably leads to greater legitimacy for a Government's decisions.

At the international level something similar is happening; the participation of civil society at the United Nations, especially in recent years, has been constantly growing. Here, Argentina supports many of the recommendations set out in the report of the Panel chaired by former President Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil (A/58/817). This participation is translated into greater influence by public opinion, which has in turn brought greater democratization to the international system, at the same time helping to strengthen multilateralism.

The world today is much more interlinked than in the past. So, unfortunately, are conflicts. It has become evident that, by itself, a direct response to violence can eliminate neither the underlying conflict nor its causes.

The Security Council has therefore begun to develop new means of responding to conflict. Thus, it has modified classic concepts regarding sanctions and peacekeeping operations, which are now much more complex and more multidisciplinary, and has begun to venture into areas such as human rights, development, election monitoring and post-conflict reconstruction. We recall that our recent reform created the Peacebuilding Commission to provide a solution for armed conflicts that goes beyond the military and extends to all areas in order to achieve lasting peace.

In the future, it is very possible that the international community will have to move towards acting before conflicts, not after them; that is to say, acting preventively and proactively before conflicts develop. It is not enough to limit peacekeeping to rebuilding a damaged community; it is obviously better to try to avoid a conflict before it erupts.

In that context, it is appropriate to ask ourselves: what is the role of civil society in conflict prevention? As we know, a conflict expresses tensions existing within a society. The task of preventing those tensions from being channelled into violence requires that all sectors of a community be involved. States have the primary responsibility to protect their populations. However, conflict prevention goes beyond the State level and involves all of society's actors, not only Governments. It does not diminish, but rather increases, the responsibility of Governments towards their own citizens, since it includes the obligation to gather and take into consideration public opinion,

which naturally includes the views of civil society organizations.

Various civil society actors have prominent roles in that process. Public opinion is among the most important elements, but let us recall that there are others. In the framework of the Global Compact, for example, private sector activity is important. It can often contribute to post-conflict reconstruction and should be utilized in such areas as small-arms monitoring, ensuring compliance with Security Council-imposed sanctions and the sustainable exploitation and legitimate trade of natural resources.

A successful peacebuilding phase is the best guarantee for preventing the recurrence of conflict, as we said. Hence, the Peacebuilding Commission will be a valuable tool for interaction with civil society, particularly with women and communities, given their role in creating sustainable conditions for peace and reconciliation.

Another question that we should ask ourselves is: what role does civil society play in the work of the Security Council? Its influence is indisputable. How can we fail to recognize that warnings from many non-governmental organizations have helped the Council more than once to prevent potential massacres? How can we deny that inaction following such warnings has led to tremendous catastrophes?

We believe that the Security Council should systematically incorporate the contributions of civil society into its analytical processes. Today, there are various useful mechanisms for doing that. The easiest is simple consultation. Council member States can and should consult the opinion of members of civil society, not only in order to hear their points of view, but also to better evaluate their positions. A customary mechanism is, as we know, the Arria formula, which has already become a classic tool of the Security Council. My country believes that more frequent use of the formula will undoubtedly strengthen the Council's preventive role. Establishing more regular and more formal cooperative frameworks for work with civil society organizations, not only in the Security Council but also in groups of States, will serve to strengthen preventive work.

In conclusion, Argentina shares the Secretary-General's view that, in a world of interconnected threats and opportunities, we must respond effectively to current challenges and defend the cause of larger freedom. We will be able to do that only through extensive, profound and sustained global cooperation among all States, which will undoubtedly include relations of effective cooperation with civil society.

Mr. Rogachev (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): In today's global world, the fabric of international relations is ever more complex. The primary actors continue to be States; however, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other elements of civil society are increasingly involved in international activities. As a result, the challenges facing the United Nations in the areas of security and the peaceful settlement of conflicts are becoming more complex. International peace and security are being understood ever more broadly and, in particular, are acquiring an intra-State dimension. I am thinking, for example, of situations involving massive and blatant human rights violations.

The comprehensive nature of threats to international peace and security requires that we develop a comprehensive strategy for conflict prevention and for the peaceful settlement of disputes. In such a strategy, we believe, a useful role could be played by civil society, together with the efforts of States and organizations.

Civil society often acts as an important link between Governments and political groups of various kinds and helps to establish a dialogue between the parties to a conflict. The activities of civil society are closely intertwined with the issue of defending human rights. In many cases, relevant non-governmental organizations serve as indicators pointing to dangerous trends affecting human rights that could potentially lead to conflict situations. Therefore, those NGOs are an element of early conflict prevention. At the same time, we need to take into account the fact that information coming from NGOs may not be free of subjectivity.

Without active involvement by civil society in the extremely important initial phases of post-conflict peacebuilding, in which there is a particularly high risk of relapse into conflict, it is not easy to undertake stable, long-term efforts to restore normal public life, to ensure the irreversibility of the peace process, to guarantee the establishment of political institutions and to establish or restore judicial and law-enforcement systems. We are closely following the development of an initiative aimed at a global partnership to prevent

armed conflict. We are confident that that process, which is being promoted by components of civil society, will provide good support for conflict prevention efforts by States.

In conclusion, we believe that the practice that has been established, of interaction between the Security Council and non-governmental organizations, is commendable and in keeping with the Council's real needs in the area of conflict prevention and settlement. The Russian delegation will help to ensure that that useful cooperation continues in its current, tested formats.

Mr. Oshima (Japan): We appreciate the fact that non-governmental and civil society organizations are playing key roles in development, humanitarian relief, human rights and other activities. World leaders acknowledged this in their world summit outcome document last week by welcoming

> "the positive contributions of the private sector and civil society, including non-governmental organizations, in the promotion and implementation of development and human rights programmes" (*General Assembly resolution 60/1, para. 172*)

and stressed the importance of their continued engagement.

Similarly, in today's world, non-governmental and civil society organizations also play a significant role in conflict prevention and resolution and in the pacific settlement of disputes. My delegation is therefore very grateful to the Philippines, under the distinguished leadership of Foreign Minister Romulo, for the timely initiative to organize this meeting. I wish also to thank the three guest civil society groups for their contribution to the debate.

The causes of many of today's conflicts are often highly complex, multifaceted and intertwined. Consequently, their prevention and resolution requires a comprehensive strategy and approach that effectively address all related issues and phases of conflict involved. To that end, the efforts at conflict prevention and resolution undertaken by Governments and international interlocutors such as the United Nations can be made more effective if they are reinforced or supplemented by the parallel efforts of civil society organizations.

A variety of civil society organizations and groups, such as traditional community organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), academe, religious organizations and other social groups have been making their unique contributions, bringing their individual capacities, experience and resources to bear in preventing, mitigating or otherwise addressing causes of conflicts.

For example, traditional organizations can support the peace process by mediating among the parties to a conflict. Academe can play a useful role in promoting confidence-building measures. In the field of humanitarian assistance and human rights, international and national NGOs lead the way on the ground. In efforts at poverty eradication and sustainable development, the nurturing of the private sector must be an important aim, given its key role in the pursuit of sustainable growth and development.

For these reasons, it is clear that dialogue and interaction between the Security Council and civil society must be strengthened. In fact, as has been mentioned by previous speakers, the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations, chaired by former President Cardoso of Brazil, recommended in its report of June 2004 that

> "Security Council members should further strengthen their dialogue with civil society, with the support of the Secretary-General" (*A/58/817, p. 46*).

We agree with that recommendation. For some years the Security Council has been carrying on a dialogue with groups representing civil society under the Arria formula, which is a welcome process whose potential should be further exploited. Furthermore, in dealing with country- or region-specific conflicts, the Security Council has engaged during field missions in interaction with local civil society leaders, local and international humanitarian NGOs and other groups that represent, or are operational in, the affected countries or regions.

In the same vein, we are pleased to note that a number of encouraging activities are already in place or envisaged for the future. For example, concerning conflict prevention in Africa, the Security Council's Ad Hoc Working Group on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa has held seminars inviting the participation of civil society organizations, and this is commended. In the field of United Nations

peacekeeping and in other peace operations, too, the support and cooperation of civil society is often critically important for their success. With that in mind, my delegation is planning to convene an informal meeting of the Security Council Working Group on Peacekeeping, which I chair, inviting civil society groups to present their views and engage in dialogue with Member States on relevant issues.

Civil society is also expected to play a key role in promoting human security. For the first time in United Nations history, the concept of human security is reflected in as important a document as the 2005 world summit outcome document, adopted last week. In paragraph 143 of that document, world leaders stressed "the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair".

> Leaders recognized
>
> "that all individuals, in particular vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential."

The concept of human security calls for a comprehensive effort to address the various threats that individual persons and local communities face, and to that end the active involvement of civil society is critically important. The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security was established in part precisely to achieve that objective, namely by supporting projects of relevant United Nations agencies that specifically promote partnership with civil society groups, NGOs and other local entities. The Trust Fund that Japan has been promoting has funded 133 projects in 104 countries to date, including such projects as a local partnership for urban poverty reduction in Cambodia, assistance to local community learning centres in Nepal, rebuilding of local communities in north-east Sri Lanka, and support for the coping mechanisms of crisis-affected Congolese households.

In conclusion, through today's discussions, we are again reminded of the important role played by civil society in conflict prevention and settlement. As we follow the outcome document and rise to the common challenges of the day, the Security Council must further strengthen dialogue with civil society. We support all efforts that take us in that direction.

Mr. Cheng Jingye (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I should like to begin by welcoming the fact that you, Mr. Minister, are presiding over this meeting. I also wish to thank the representatives of the three non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for their presentations.

The pacific settlement of disputes is one of the important principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Conflict prevention is also what the United Nations has been actively engaged in over the years. The General Assembly and the Security Council have both emphasized the importance of conflict prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes in relevant resolutions.

It is clear that the primary responsibility in that regard lies with the Governments of the countries concerned. The United Nations and the international and regional organizations concerned also have important roles to play. This constitutes an important component of resolution 1366 (2001) and should be adhered to in future endeavours related to conflict prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes.

We have noted that in recent years some civil society organizations have been playing an increasingly active role in conflict prevention. They have undertaken a great deal of useful work and played a complementary role in the international community's peace efforts, as confirmed by General Assembly resolution 57/337 and Security Council resolution 1366 (2001).

We believe that civil society should abide by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations in their participation in activities related to conflict prevention and to the pacific settlement of disputes and, in their work in the field, maintain objectivity, impartiality and neutrality. This is imperative for their work to achieve positive results.

In their participation in conflict prevention, various civil society groups can put to good use their expertise and experience in various fields to promote dialogue and reconciliation. At the same time, civil society organizations must proactively cooperate with and assist the Governments concerned and the international community, especially the United Nations, and avoid encroaching on their primary roles or causing hindrances. Of course, the United Nations should also, in appropriate ways, listen to the views and proposals of civil society.

In brief, we hope that civil society organizations will continue to play their own constructive roles in conflict prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

Mr. De Rivière (France) (*spoke in French*): My delegation would like first of all to warmly congratulate you, Mr. President, on having organized today's discussion. This meeting and the discussion we are embarking upon are a clear demonstration that the international community today values the contribution that players other than States can make to preventing and settling conflicts around the planet. That in itself is a welcome development.

Over the past 15 years civil society has regained its role, and today the companies, unions, associations, and academic institutions — in short, the NGOs in their totality — are receiving deserved acknowledgement of their place in one of the founding missions of our Organization: the role of civil society in conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

How does civil society play that role? First of all by participating in discussion. When there is discussion in a society criticizing the excesses of public authorities, experience shows that it is much more difficult for a Government to distance itself from the rule of law and, more generally, from good governance. The support provided by the international community to strengthening civil society has therefore become one of the most meaningful elements of the in-depth action to prevent conflict.

But civil society does not have the same political legitimacy as institutions. They need to gain that legitimacy, which cannot be done overnight. I am encouraged, however, by the progress made worldwide in acknowledging civil society's role, even in the most fragile countries.

Let us not forget in this respect the role of women and their associations in preventing crises by minimizing their worst effects and by taking action to remedy them. How many times have we been struck by their contribution in the Great Lakes region — a contribution that has been recognized by the Council and one that France fully supports.

Nevertheless, we must recognize in this discussion that, like political society, civil society can also be acting wrongfully. The non-governmental actor is sometimes, unfortunately, the proxy for an unscrupulous State. At other times, though thankfully not often, it can even be the vector of violent, criminal action, as the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tanzania has just underscored in his statement. And in some cases, too, one of the monstrous manifestations of civil society can be an actual mafia.

However, thankfully, civil society is most often a powerful aid to peace. I was simply observing that we should always remain vigilant. Our Council is fully committed to the role of civil society in post-conflict situations.

In the wake of the decision taken by our heads of State and Government to establish a peacebuilding commission, I would like to highlight one point: no just, lasting peace can be established through the efforts of the State alone. The case of Mozambique, moreover, illustrates this point. Private actors can contribute, as in Mozambique, in the settlement of conflicts. The robustness of any peace agreement depends on the extent to which the emerging society remains active, critical, involved, independent — in short, a civil society.

We also need to pay tribute to the efforts of NGOs in the implementation of reconstruction programmes, such as those in the field of demining, to which the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs alluded, or in the difficult matter of reintegrating child soldiers in wounded, weakened societies that are often torn apart by years of conflict.

Finally, let me reiterate France's support for the various institutions which enable civil society to be associated with the work of the Security Council and to express our desire to see them strengthened and used more often. I am thinking in particular of the Arria formula, but also of the meetings organized during Security Council missions. In the field of conflict prevention, the knowledge of societies which NGOs possess is a valuable asset, as the Council has rightly realized.

In terms of the Arria meetings, we need to think about making them more interactive. My delegation is prepared to participate with NGOs in brainstorming on this subject.

Let me also take this opportunity to reiterate the proposal already made by France in this forum with respect to the monitoring of civil society via annual reports on the most vulnerable countries.

In conclusion, let me reiterate that France welcomes the fact that the Security Council today has publicly reaffirmed the extent to which civil society is an essential part of any peacebuilding endeavour.

Mr. Katti (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): Let me say, Mr. Secretary, how very pleased we are to see you among us, presiding over our meeting. We wish also to congratulate you and your delegation for having organized this debate on a very relevant and timely topic.

The extreme complexity of post-cold-war conflicts has inevitably led to a radical reversal both in what we do and how we do it. Of course, there are no textbook cases and every situation has its own specificities. We must, however, recognize the conceptual and operational efforts made thus far by the United Nations and in particular by the Security Council in the search for effective responses to the challenges of peace and security. In fact, sustained attention is now being given to the issue of what might be termed the emergence of civil society in the search for lasting peace.

Without venturing into a legal and political debate on the definition of civil society, this can be considered to encompass, inter alia, religious groups, traditional communities, councils of elders, trade unions, human rights defence groups, women's and youth organizations, the media and the academic world. Those segments of civil society have been recognized as useful actors in conflict prevention and in the search for peace and its consolidation.

Thus, before elaborating on those thoughts I would like to refer to the Cardoso report (A/58/817) on future relations between the United Nations and civil society — a report which we believe constitutes an ambitious platform for partnership setting out ways and means of better integrating civil society into the overall work of the United Nations. As members know, the report recommends that the Security Council improve the planning and effectiveness of Arria formula meetings, which can further strengthen the dialogue between the Council and civil society and which my delegation will of course continue to encourage. It seems to us useful, in addition, when a specific situation requires it, for members of the Security Council on mission in the field to meet with leaders of local civil society.

We have also noted that civil society organizations, in particular in Africa, participate in peace initiatives that have been established by public authorities or by international institutions. Considerable work is also done by civil society in raising awareness, in strengthening community dialogue and in building local capacity for the pacific settlement of disputes through the organization of seminars, conferences and training workshops on the culture of peace and through providing human rights education. There are also situations where the use of traditional conflict settlement mechanisms, for example, working with councils of elders and religious or tribal chiefs, has defused crises, avoiding otherwise inevitable humanitarian tragedy. Finally, one cannot fail to mention the joint initiatives by States and local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for civil harmony and national reconciliation, along with those that are transborder in nature or that involve major international NGOs.

Those are a few examples of participatory conflict management that the United Nations system and the Security Council could encourage.

Crisis prevention requires coherent and coordinated action by all actors involved, State and non-State alike. At the global level, the contribution of the United Nations, and of international financial institutions in particular, remains fundamental. From that standpoint, we believe that the effectiveness and sustainability of measures to tackle the root causes of conflict necessarily depend on the continued involvement of the various local and international actors. Such involvement can make it possible to strengthen State structures, the rule of law and democracy; to create or consolidate national crisis prevention infrastructure; to develop the economy; and, above all, to create the conditions for the flourishing of civil society and the strengthening of its potential to promote peace and stability.

In fact, a greater involvement of civil society in preventing conflict, social tension and all other phenomena that can jeopardize civil peace and the security of citizenry is to be encouraged. However, respect for the law and the legal framework by representatives of civil society remains fundamental.

Along the same lines, we believe that the contribution and involvement of international actors must strictly respect the United Nations Charter and the underlying principles of international relations — cooperation, respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of States in particular, but also those that guide humanitarian action -- universality, neutrality and non-selectivity.

Mrs. Patterson (United States of America): Thank you, Mr. President, for convening this thematic debate. We compliment the Philippines delegation, especially Ambassador Baja, for its conduct of the presidency during this exceptional month. The leadership of your delegation resulting in the adoption of two resolutions at the summit-level meeting was particularly noteworthy.

We welcome today's thematic debate to discuss supporting and advancing democratic governance to prevent conflict, both within and across borders. In this respect, I would like to thank our three speakers on this topic.

If it is to be truly effective in helping States prevent conflict, civil society — or perhaps more appropriately, free society — must be as inclusive as possible and allow the views of a wide range of actors to be heard and considered. While they may often vary widely in their degree of organization, autonomy and influence, actors as diverse as non-governmental organizations, community, cultural and religious organizations, trade and professional associations, representatives of the private sector such as individual proprietorships, partnerships, corporations and business associations, research and academic institutions and, especially, individuals all have roles to play in a truly vibrant society. As the presidential statement we will adopt today notes, only when the widest possible range of opinion is reflected can civil society genuinely be a force for conflict prevention and conflict resolution.

Free societies are most valuable as marketplaces where free ideas compete. The free exchange of ideas is a bulwark against those who use violence or intimidation to achieve their goals. When individuals and groups have the freedom to express their views and pursue their legitimate ambitions without fear of retribution, the risk of internal conflict among them will almost certainly diminish. Efforts to expand freedom at all levels are among the most effective ways of lessening the risk of conflict.

During his recent visit here, President Bush co-hosted the launch of the United Nations Democracy Fund. Through this Fund, democratic States will work to help others join the democratic family. As Secretary of State Rice said last Saturday, the path to democracy is often long and imperfect, and it is different for every nation. One way the United Nations can support countries seeking self-government is to encourage the development of free institutions.

The United States firmly believes that building the institutions that promote and sustain freedom and democratic ideals creates the necessary foundations for free societies, and those foundations will prevent conflict. Where conflict already exists, these same principles can serve as a basis for lasting peace and reconciliation. All free societies have certain things in common. Democratic nations uphold the rule of law, impose limits on the power of State and treat women and minorities as full citizens. Such nations protect private property, free speech and religious expression. Democratic nations grow in strength because they respect and reward the creative gifts of their people and democratic nations contribute to peace and stability because they seek national greatness in the achievements of their citizens, not through oppression of elements of their own citizenry or their neighbours.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines.

History has shown that States are willing to do all they can in the name of peace. They have gone to war and sent their brave men and women into battle. They have shown a willingness to divide their people, compromise their territory, surrender their resources and risk their future. They have been willing to do all this in the name of peace. What they have not been too willing to do was to allow individuals or groups of individuals to participate in preventing or settling conflict. That has been reserved to States and the institutions they created.

For far too long States jealously guarded the prerogative to wage peace. Many States have resisted the entry of civil society into the realm of State-to-State relations, particularly in the area of international politics and security.

In spite of that resistance, civil society has proven itself an important partner in preventing and settling conflict. Those of us who laboured with civil society in building internal and regional peace, trust and confidence, even in the face of profound potential conflict, can attest to this.

Last year, in June, the Philippine presidency of the Security Council convened an open debate on the role of civil society in post-conflict peacebuilding. The Council's 4993rd meeting marked the first extensive discussion by the Security Council on the contribution civil society can make in ensuring that once peace is achieved, conflict is not allowed to return.

That meeting provided the historic opportunity — the first time ever, I believe — for representatives of civil society to participate in the debate of the Council. It opened the doors even wider for civil society in the most delicate affairs of States, in the maintenance of peace and security of mankind — which is the primary responsibility of this Council.

Knowing full well the role that civil society can play in carrying out its primary responsibility, the Security Council must nurture and encourage a meaningful role for civil society in preventing conflict and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Today, the Philippine presidency is once again privileged to convene an open debate on the role of civil society. The Philippines deeply appreciates the active participation of Member States in this open debate. We are also grateful to the three representatives of civil society for their views and practical suggestions. Their contribution is most valuable, as it is borne of experience and reality.

The complex nature of threats to international peace and security is a theme that has received much-deserved attention, not only during the meeting of heads of State and Government last week, but for much of the year, starting from the issuance of the report of the High-level Panel in the fall of 2004. It is now recognized that the need for a comprehensive strategy for conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes is vast and urgent. We now realize that Governments have real and serious limitations in being fully responsive to the need to effectively meet these complex threats.

My own country's experience teaches this important lesson. After years of violence, the Philippines is one step away from successfully concluding its search for peace in the southern Philippines. We were able to achieve dramatic progress in our peace talks with secessionists because of the key role that our partners for peace have played. Malaysia brokered the peace talks and led the international monitoring team; Brunei and Libya contributed peace monitors; other individual members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference extended political support; and donor countries and aid agencies increased the prospects of growth and progress as peace dividends.

However, our search for peace would not have reached that far if not for the active role played by civil society. Civil society helped in making both sides understand difficult issues, study best practices and appreciate the value of peace. Religious civil society groups were primary movers in building understanding and tolerance by encouraging interfaith dialogue and cooperation. They helped reduce the potential for abuse of religion and faith as further fuel for conflict. It is this particular experience that provided one of the inspirations for my country's interfaith initiatives here in the United Nations. The role that civil society can play in promoting interfaith dialogue and cooperation was once again highlighted in last week's historic Interfaith Summit.

Communities, donor agencies and civil society must be integrated in any approach to a comprehensive strategy for conflict prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes. All sectors involved — Governments, communities, donor agencies and civil society — must coordinate efforts and act on the basis of their respective strengths to support and complement each other in achieving the goal of preventing and resolving disputes. The goal must be holistic and not merely involve the limited objective of stopping conflicts. Overall development resulting in social stability would deflect discontented elements in a society in conflict from resorting to violence again.

When conflicts break out within a State, sometimes the biggest barrier to peace is the inability or the unwillingness of parties to talk and enter dialogue. Non-governmental organizations often serve as communication links between governmental and opposition forces, even as they carry out their humanitarian and development roles. In our region, we have seen civil society actually help broker peace. In Aceh, for example, I believe that the seeds of peace

planted helped bring about the peace that we are once again building.

While its important role in peace-making activities is recognized, civil society, as a player in interdicting the conflict cycle, should also continue to evolve new and future-oriented ideas. If it positively directs its attention towards community growth and the promotion of the welfare of society, its voice will grow stronger in a way that is supported and strengthened by international and local actors.

In my region several possible conflicts have been peacefully managed, thanks to the help of civil society. Among those issues was the potentially difficult situation of the conflicting claims in the South China Sea. Track Two workshops explored the possibility of cooperative regimes in the South China Sea to build trust and confidence and to create an atmosphere in which disputes could be addressed. Today, we have the ASEAN-China Declaration on the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea. Civil society has helped transform the South China Sea from waters of contention to a sea of peace and cooperation.

Sixty years ago, the peoples of the world brought forth the United Nations. No role was given to civil society. Today, civil society has proven its worth in our common search for peace. States have shown their willingness to share with civil society, which is a close and meaningful partner, the task of building peace. Let us now show that together we can expand the frontiers of peace.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I invite the representative of Canada to take the floor.

Mr. Rock (Canada): Thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to speak before the Council on the role of civil society in conflict prevention and the pacific settlement of disputes. This discussion comes at a critical time, as we collectively begin to chart the course ahead on implementation of the outcome of last week's summit, and we are particularly indebted to the Philippine presidency for drawing attention to this issue.

It has been 15 years since the Secretary-General issued his initial report on the prevention of armed conflict. Our experience has shown that conflict prevention is something that Governments cannot undertake effectively in isolation. Across a spectrum of conflict prevention roles, civil society organizations provide crucial assistance. The unique attributes of civil society — including its independent nature, its global reach and its high level of community integration — make civil society an invaluable partner for the Council and our national Governments.

Canada welcomes the recent adoption of Security Council resolution 1625 (2005) and its declaration on strengthening the effectiveness of the Security Council's role in the prevention of armed conflict. Resolution 1625 (2005) identifies clearly the importance of civil society contributions and the need to work to strengthen the capacity of civil society.

We all know the important role of civil society organizations, both indigenous and international, in crisis detection and early warning. But civil society organizations fulfil widely varying functions across the conflict cycle — everything from advocacy to accompanying vulnerable populations as they move to long-term monitoring and reporting. They can also play an instrumental role across thematic lines, for example, in ensuring the inclusion of a gender perspective and a role for women in the prevention and the resolution of conflicts, as called for in the World Summit declaration.

In Canada's experience, civil society partners are also valuable in efforts to mobilize political will on a global scale, as evidenced by the key role played by civil society coalitions in the campaign to ban landmines and in efforts to establish the International Criminal Court.

In June of this year, more than 500 civil society organizations from across 15 regions gathered here in New York and produced the Global Action Agenda of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict. The Action Agenda charts the range of functions that civil society can perform and provides important recommendations for national Governments and the United Nations system. We support and encourage its implementation.

The Action Agenda stresses the need for the international community to shift its focus from reaction to prevention. Better prevention requires better and more timely information, as well as a rapid response.

(*spoke in French*)

Today, I would like to focus on three of the more concrete ways in which we can collectively move ahead in the coming months to better incorporate civil society organizations and maximize our effectiveness in that regard.

First, the Council has already begun to avail itself more frequently of civil society expertise and information through the Arria — formula mechanism. We welcome that but would strongly urge the Council to deepen that trend. For example, it could consider a more proactive use of informal meetings and broad consultations with civil society groups, not only to gather information on situations already of interest but also to allow groups to sound the alarm on newly emerging conflicts and issues of concern. That approach could lead to the Council's timely consideration of those issues and a more rapid and effective Council response.

Secondly, monitoring and reporting mechanisms that are in place for specific situations should clearly identify the mechanisms through which civil society groups can channel information to the Security Council for consideration or intervention. An excellent example of that is the recent adoption of Council resolution 1612 (2005), which establishes a monitoring and reporting mechanism for children in armed conflict and expressly includes the participation of the relevant civil society organizations. The Council should consider applying that model in other areas of its activity.

Finally, as we move to implement the outcome of last week's summit through the establishment of both the Peacebuilding Commission and the Human Rights Council, we need to ensure that their structures and mandates permit them access to the most relevant and timely information and expertise available on country situations, including that provided by civil society organizations in the field. By involving civil society from the start we can be sure that our efforts will be based on valid information and be mutually supportive.

In conclusion, Canada strongly believes that civil society organizations are not only the eyes and ears of the international community on the ground but also our collective conscience. We therefore strongly encourage more open cooperation with civil society and look forward to working in coming months for the more extensive participation of civil society in United Nations conflict prevention efforts.

The President: After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council.

"Recognizing the complex nature of threats to international peace and security, the Security Council underlined the need for a broad strategy for conflict prevention and pacific settlement of disputes in line with Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.

"The Security Council stressed that the essential responsibility for conflict prevention rests with national Governments, and that the United Nations and the international community can play an important role in support of national efforts for conflict prevention and can assist in building national capacity in this field and recognized the important supporting role of civil society.

"The Security Council reaffirmed the need for this strategy to be based on engagement with Governments, regional and subregional organizations as well as civil society organizations, as appropriate, reflecting the widest possible range of opinions.

"The Security Council underlined the potential contributions of a vibrant and diverse civil society in conflict prevention, as well as in the peaceful settlement of disputes. They noted that a well-functioning civil society has the advantage of specialized knowledge, capabilities, experience, links with key constituencies, influence and resources, which can assist parties in conflict to achieve peaceful solution to disputes.

"The Security Council noted that a vigorous and inclusive civil society could provide community leadership, help shape public opinion, and facilitate as well as contribute to reconciliation between conflicting communities. The Security Council also underscored the role that these actors could play in providing a bridge to dialogue and other confidence-building measures between parties in conflict.

"The Security Council underscored and will strengthen its relationship with civil society, including as appropriate, through, inter alia, the

use of 'Arria-formula' meetings and meetings with local civil society organizations during Security Council missions.

"The Security Council agreed to keep this item under review."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2005/42.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5265

Security Council

Distr.: General
21 September 2005

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 5265th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 21 September 2005, at 10 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 21 September 2005, the Security Council, pursuant to resolution 1353 (2001), annex II, sections A and B, held its 5265th meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission in the Sudan.

"Briefings were made pursuant to rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Jan Pronk, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Sudan, Lieutenant-General Randhir Kumar Mehta, Military Adviser in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), Colonel Jahanzeb Raja, Chief, Force Generation Service in DPKO, Mr. Mark Kroeker, United Nations Police Adviser in DPKO, and Mr. Michael Dora, Officer-in-Charge, Logistic Operations in DPKO.

"Members of the Council, representatives of the troop-contributing countries and the briefers had an exchange of views."

05-51724 (E) 210905

United Nations S/PV.5266

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5266th meeting

Wednesday, 21 September 2005, 3 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	Benin	Mr. Idohou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	Denmark	Mr. Faaborg-Andersen
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mrs. Patterson

Agenda

The situation concerning Iraq

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 30 of resolution 1546 (2004) (S/2005/585)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-51616 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Iraq

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 30 of resolution 1546 (2004) (S/2005/585)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Iraq in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to Mr. Hoshyar Zebari, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zebari (Iraq) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Qazi to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2005/585, containing the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 30 of resolution 1546 (2004).

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear briefings by Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq, and by Mrs. Anne W. Patterson, representative of the United States, on behalf of the multinational force.

I give the floor to Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq.

Mr. Qazi: The report before the Council details the work of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI) from June to August 2005. I would like to take this opportunity to draw the Council's attention to its key observations and to comment on the efficacy of the role of the United Nations in Iraq.

Our meeting is taking place shortly after the designation by the Transitional National Assembly of Iraq of a draft national constitution, which marks an important benchmark in Iraq's political transition, as outlined in Security Council resolution 1546 (2004). Iraq can now move forward to the remaining steps in its transition: a national referendum on the draft constitution scheduled for 15 October and general elections scheduled for 15 December.

In writing a constitution, underlying political issues are often the hardest to tackle, especially in countries undergoing a transition from dictatorship to representative government. In such situations, it is almost a prerequisite that the constitution-drafting process contribute to the development or restoration of political trust among the main political constituencies, without which the necessary compromises on sensitive issues will be difficult to achieve.

In the case of Iraq, the Transitional National Assembly has also been given the task of drafting a constitution in a security environment that remains extremely challenging and which can easily contribute to a hardening of attitudes on all sides. In these circumstances, the restoration of mutual political trust among parties and communities through an inclusive, transparent and participatory political process has been, and remains, a challenge.

Given all this, it is remarkable that the initial number of sensitive issues on which differences were known to exist was significantly reduced within a very demanding time frame, rendered even more tight due to the delay in the formation of a Transitional Government. Even so, we cannot but acknowledge that

the major shortcoming of the 30 January elections — that is, the relative non-participation of one major segment of Iraqi society — inevitably affected the subsequent drafting of the constitution, despite measures taken to include representatives of Arab Sunni groups in the process.

The lack of sufficient mutual accommodation within the National Assembly's Constitutional Committee eventually led to outstanding political issues being referred to meetings of senior political leaders. This process developed a political dynamic of its own that carried discussions on the draft text of the constitution beyond the prescribed deadline of 15 August. As a result, the process had to depart from formal procedures in order to allow negotiations among all parties to continue as constructively as possible. In effect, several deadlines for the designation of a text by the National Assembly were set aside, and the text which was designated on 28 August continued to be discussed and changed. Changes to the text were finally read out to the National Assembly on 18 September.

The issues of federalism, modalities for the formation of regions in addition to the existing Kurdistan region, the identity of the State, the role of Islam as a source of law, and the distribution of powers with respect to natural resources, including oil and water, were among the major points of contention. Several commentators noted the deferral of a large number of important institutional arrangements to the next elected national assembly for legislative action. Given the short time frame available, there was probably no alternative to this. Building upon the efforts made during the drafting process, it is now hoped that all parties will be able to work constructively with one another in implementing an approved constitution in the common interest of the Iraqi people.

A copy of the constitutional text that is to be put to the people of Iraq in the referendum on 15 October was formally communicated to me by the Acting Speaker of the National Assembly, with the request that UNAMI facilitate the publication and distribution of 5 million copies to Iraqi households throughout the country. This process, which will enable the Iraqi people to make an informed choice on whether to accept or reject the draft constitutional text, is now under way. In that regard, UNAMI is also providing technical support to a broad public education campaign on the draft constitution.

The referendum is only one of two major electoral events that are being prepared simultaneously by the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq within a very tight time frame. Preparations are also under way for the general election that is to follow. Here, too, the process has been affected by prolonged negotiations in the National Assembly over the choice of electoral system, which delayed the adoption of a new electoral law until 12 September.

As a result, the timelines for implementing all the preparatory steps for the referendum and elections have been severely compressed. In addition, there is an urgent need for international funding for the electoral process.

The United Nations does not and should not take positions on questions such as the merits of the draft Constitution, which lie exclusively within the sovereign political domain of the Iraqi people. It is important that all recognize that the facilitation work of the United Nations, including the publication of the draft constitutional text, does not constitute advocacy. Although the timetable for a nationwide public discussion and debate on the completed draft text has been much shorter than initially hoped, a healthy turnout for the referendum would, nevertheless, be a very positive development.

Accordingly, I hope that the Security Council will support the Secretary-General's call to the people of Iraq to exercise their democratic rights, as well as his call to the Iraqi authorities and all Iraqi political groups, to ensure the Iraqi people's participation, free from intimidation or threats to their security.

Outside the formal political process, the reality of life for the vast majority of Iraqis remains difficult. Of paramount concern is the high toll of innocent civilian casualties caused by the ongoing violence, including terrorist and insurgent activity. The Secretary-General has unequivocally condemned terrorist violence against innocent civilians, which no cause can ever justify, and has repeatedly called on all parties to observe their international humanitarian obligations in this regard.

Also of great concern is the deteriorating human rights situation, to which the report again calls your attention. From our experience around the world, we have learned that addressing both past and present

abuses, based on the rule of law and international norms, can go a long way in promoting national reconciliation efforts. We have, therefore, encouraged the Iraqi Government to step up its efforts to promote and protect human rights, as well as to ensure that it is perceived as being equitable and fair in all its actions towards all communities in Iraq. At this sensitive political juncture, this is particularly relevant to the Iraqi security forces that are often required to operate in challenging and provocative circumstances. The forthcoming referendum and election will provide an opportunity for them to demonstrate their neutrality, impartiality and effectiveness in respecting human and political rights for all Iraqi citizens.

Similarly, the need for greater security is not limited to the security of life, but encompasses the general welfare of Iraqis and their prospects for a better life in terms of basic living conditions, employment and public services.

Restoring the confidence and dignity of the Iraqi people requires urgent tangible improvements in these areas. In this regard, the outcome of the last International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq (IRFFI) Donor Meeting in July made it possible for UNAMI to focus its efforts on selecting quick-impact projects. They are aimed at improving the quality of life of Iraqis in the areas of health, education, water and sanitation and have been formulated and implemented by United Nations agencies on a fast-track basis. UNAMI also facilitated the prompt provision of emergency assistance to the survivors and families of those who lost their lives in the tragic Aemma Bridge stampede in Baghdad on 31 August. Strengthening the Government's capacity to coordinate international assistance and to deliver effectively on the needs and expectations of its people will remain a priority for UNAMI. However, meeting Iraq's immediate reconstruction and humanitarian needs, and investing in its long-term development, will require continued and generous support from the international community.

While the referendum and the elections are necessary instruments in Iraq's transition to democracy, they are only staging posts along an evolving transition. Irrespective of their outcome, there are a number of overarching challenges on which we will need to continue to focus if we are to see the dividends of our efforts over the past two years. These include, first, promoting national reconciliation through inclusive, participatory, transparent and responsive politics that impact positively on security; secondly, respecting Iraqi ownership of the political process and strengthening the security of the State; thirdly, developing good governance practices and institutional capacity-building; and fourthly, encouraging international and regional engagement and consensus in support of Iraq's transition.

The Security Council has a particularly important role to play in each of these areas. As the current process outlined in resolution 1546 (2004) is nearing its scheduled completion, consideration will need to be given to how best the international community, including the United Nations, can continue to support the Government and people of Iraq.

With a tenfold increase of our presence in Iraq since operations resumed last year and the planned expansion of activities beyond Baghdad to Erbil and Basrah, UNAMI is a committed partner of Iraq and is ready to continue to provide its assistance, as circumstances permit and as requested by the Iraqis.

We have come a long way in Iraq, and UNAMI could not have achieved what it has without the support it has received from a large number of countries. I should like, therefore, to conclude by thanking the Government of Fiji for providing three United Nations Guard Units to protect UNAMI facilities; the Governments of Romania, Georgia and the Republic of Korea, which have provided dedicated forces to support our security; and the Governments of Jordan and Kuwait for hosting UNAMI facilities on their territory and their consistent support for essential UNAMI operations. I am also grateful for the efforts of the Multinational Force and the Iraqi security forces in supporting our activities on a daily basis. And, needless to say, thanks to the Government of Iraq.

Finally, I wish to pay tribute to all UNAMI staff for their hard work and dedication in implementing our mandate, often in exceptionally challenging circumstances.

The President: I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Qazi, for his comprehensive briefing.

I now give the floor to Her Excellency Mrs. Anne W. Patterson, representative of the United States.

Mrs. Patterson (United States of America): As mandated by United Nations Security Council

resolution 1546 (2004), I am pleased to report to the Security Council, on behalf of the 30 countries making up the Multinational Force, on the efforts and progress of the Force in fulfilling its mandate.

There have been important developments since our last report. Most notably, the Iraqi people met another critical milestone by submitting a draft Constitution for referendum. We congratulate the Iraqis on their steady and courageous progress in their political transition. We urge all Iraqis to eschew violence and participate in the referendum and elections as they set the course for Iraq's future.

The insurgents remain capable, adaptable and intent on carrying out attacks against Iraqi civilians, officials and security forces, with the goal of destabilizing and de-legitimizing the Iraqi Government in order to pursue their own goals.

We witnessed — and the Council condemned — the atrocious murders of members of the Transitional National Assembly, a member of the constitutional Drafting Committee, a Committee adviser, officials, electoral workers and countless other Iraqis, as well as appalling attacks on senior Algerian, Egyptian and Pakistani diplomats, and Iraqi and multinational forces.

The total number of terror incidents has been relatively steady in the post-election period, with attacks concentrated in four of Iraq's 18 provinces. The frequency of attacks on Iraq's infrastructure, such as electricity generation and oil facilities, has decreased since the election, but they continue to have an adverse impact on the availability of electricity and on oil revenues.

As previously reported, the goal of the Multinational Force is to assist Iraqis in providing for their own security. The capacity of Iraqi Security Forces is increasing, reducing the influence and effectiveness of insurgents, and strengthening Iraqi rule-of-law capabilities. The Force and the coalition, in close coordination with the Iraqi Government, are helping to strengthen Iraqi law enforcement, justice, and corrections systems as well.

In addition, the Multinational Force works with the Iraqi Government and security forces, international donors, and national and international non-governmental organizations to complete critical infrastructure projects, ranging from water purification facilities and electrical power stations to educational infrastructure, medical facilities and administrative buildings. During July and August alone, the Multinational Force in the central-south sector completed approximately 100 reconstruction projects.

Turning to progress in training the Iraqi security forces, the Iraqi Government, working with the Multinational Force, has identified a force structure to meet Iraq's needs for internal and external security. The majority of those personnel have completed individual entry training and have been equipped.

As of 19 September, there were a total of 193,000 trained and equipped Iraqi security forces. That included 104,000 police, highway patrol and other forces under the Ministry of the Interior, as well as 89,000 in the army, air force and navy.

Even as the Multinational Force helps build and train the Iraqi security forces, Iraqi forces are employed in active combat operations. A key indicator of progress is the Iraqi security forces' role in the recent counter-insurgency campaign in Tal Afar. Eleven Iraqi combat units were employed as independent manoeuvre elements during that operation.

Iraqi security forces, in partnership with the Multinational Force, increasingly conduct the full spectrum of counter-insurgency operations to isolate and neutralize former regime extremists and foreign terrorists. Special border forces consisting of more than 17,000 trained and equipped personnel are arrayed in 36 battalions that man 258 border forts around Iraq. To stem the flow of foreign fighters, priority has been placed on securing the Iraqi-Syrian border.

To further advance Iraqi capacity for independent operations, the Multinational Force, in partnership with the Iraqi Ministry of Defence, has implemented a programme to embed military transition teams at the battalion, brigade and division levels. Those teams provide transition readiness assessments, identifying areas of progress and shortcomings, ultimately preparing individual units to assume independent control of their area of responsibility.

While the Multinational Force's work is far from complete, it has already been able to transfer some security responsibilities. The following are some examples. On 1 June, the Multinational Force officially transferred full responsibility for security at a base in Dibbis to the Iraqi army. On 21 August, the Multinational Force turned over Camp Zulu in

as-Suwayrah, Iraq, in the central-south sector, to the Iraqi army. On 31 August, the Iraqi Base Support Unit assumed control of all perimeter force protection in a sector in Kirkuk. On 6 September, the Multinational Force handed over security responsibility in Najaf. Iraqi army units continue to assume security responsibility in the western region. They are currently conducting independent security and offensive operations in Rawah and combined zone reconnaissance near the Syrian border.

The Multinational Force and the Iraqi Government are developing a conditions-based security plan to define the environment necessary for further and greater transfers of responsibility from the Multinational Force to the Iraqi security forces.

Per resolution 1546 (2004), the Multinational Force, notably the Georgians and the Romanians, continue to take all necessary measures to contribute to the maintenance of security and stability in Iraq so that, inter alia, the United Nations can fulfil its role in assisting the Iraqi people. The United Nations has made important contributions in Iraq, especially in the constitutional process. The United Nations continues to have leading roles, including supporting the Iraqis in the October referendum and the December election and helping to coordinate reconstruction and donor assistance. We urge the United Nations to assume its role fully and to deploy the necessary experts rapidly.

We remind Member States that as the United Nations expands its activities in Iraq, its security needs increase. We attach priority to our efforts to ensure full security coverage for the United Nations and welcome the contributions of South Korea and Mongolia in Irbil. We encourage countries to consider providing monetary and/or troop assistance for this effort.

Success will be achieved when Iraqis themselves can guarantee their own liberty, security and prosperity. Training Iraqi security forces to take over primary responsibility for security is critical. Continued progress in national reconciliation will also assist Iraqi security forces development and hasten the process of bringing security and stability.

The international community, particularly Iraq's neighbours, and especially Syria, must do more to stop foreign terrorists entering Iraq and retarding efforts to stabilize and secure the country.

Finally, the Multinational Force and the combined efforts of the Multinational Force and Iraqi security forces continue to provide a shield for democracy to take shape, evolve and take hold in Iraq. The Multinational Force remains committed to staying the course and to ensuring success. We in this Chamber also owe it to the Iraqi people to do our part to help ensure success.

The President: I thank Mrs. Patterson for her comprehensive briefing.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Hoshyar Zebari, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

Mr. Zebari (Iraq): In accordance with the political process endorsed by resolution 1546 (2004), Iraq's general elections were successfully held on 30 January, initiating a peaceful transfer of power to the National Assembly, which convened on 16 March, and a Transitional Government, which was formed on 3 May. The national unity Government constitutes the most broadly representative Government in Iraq's history in terms of ethnicity, faith and political affiliation. Thirty-one per cent of Assembly members are women.

The priority of this phase of our political transition has been to draft a new permanent Constitution for Iraq. That historic document will provide the foundation on which to rebuild our country as a peaceful, stable, united and federal Iraq, and the only way to realize that vision is with the input and the consensus of the entire constituency. The Constitution Drafting Committee was therefore expanded to better represent Iraqi society by including communities that did not take part or that did not fare well in the January elections.

Every Iraqi must have a sense of ownership of our country's future, and we have a responsibility to future generations of Iraqis to craft a democratic Constitution based on public consent. There was a short delay in presenting the draft charter to the National Assembly while all parties tried to reach broader agreement on some of the key issues. But this is the first time in 80 years that a constitution has been so openly and publicly debated. It is important that we stick to the timetable set out in resolution 1546 (2004), but in this case too much was at stake to rush through an unfinished or unworkable charter.

The Charter enshrines human rights, minority rights and equal rights before the law regardless of ethnicity, religion or beliefs. It protects freedom of speech and conscience, the sovereignty of law, the peaceful transfer of power and full political rights in a parliamentary, federal and democratic Iraq. It upholds our historical tradition of the peaceful coexistence of diverse faiths and guarantees religious freedoms. Power is separated between the legislature, the executive and an independent judiciary, within a federation devolving power and resources to the regional and local levels.

What we have produced does not satisfy all the demands of any group, but it is the best deal that could be delivered based on negotiation and consensus. We demonstrated a commitment to compromise instead of exerting individual maximalist demands. That sends an important message: there will be no will of the majority without the consent of the minority.

The draft Constitution is the most progressive in the region. It provides a framework for democracy to thrive, and we are very proud of what we have produced, particularly in such a difficult security environment.

The next step is to ratify the draft Constitution in a national referendum on 15 October, when the people of Iraq will have the final say. In order to build national consensus, the draft remains open for debate. A vigorous public awareness campaign is under way, and the United Nations is printing 5 million copies to be distributed to Iraqi households. If ratified, the referendum will be followed by nationwide general elections in December for a constitutionally elected Government. The National Assembly has adopted a new electoral law based on a system according to which Iraq's 18 governorates will each elect its own representatives, thus creating a broader coalition and representative Government. Forty-eight Assembly seats are allocated as compensatory seats for minority groups that are unable to meet the electoral quota.

Encouragingly, voter registration has surged in all areas of the country, the latest figures and assessment indicating about 14 million people so far. If constituents are registering to vote in peaceful political opposition, then that is democracy at work.

We are committed to meeting the remaining deadlines mandated in the Transitional Administrative Law and endorsed by resolution 1546 (2004), but we need greater international assistance in order to do so.

Iraq welcomes and appreciates the United Nations role in Iraq, especially the work of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Ambassador Ashraf Qazi, who played an important part in consensus-building in the constitutional process. The United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) contributed important advice to the Constitutional Committee and to the Electoral Commission, and we welcome their efforts to increase their presence on the ground by setting up offices in Erbil and Basra.

Iraq will be heading into a critical phase in the next three months, and we call upon UNAMI to fulfil its mandate fully, according to resolution 1546 (2004), broadening its physical outreach and providing more personnel support. While the political transition is an Iraqi-led process, we ask the United Nations to play a more vocal and more visible role in Iraq. No international organization does a better job of organizing credible, honest elections in emerging democracies than the United Nations.

We again urge Member States to adhere to their obligations under resolution 1546 (2004) to provide protection and funding for United Nations facilities in Iraq so that UNAMI can contribute more effectively to democracy-building in our country.

Democracy cannot flourish without social development and reconstruction. We note the United Nations efforts regarding reconstruction, development and humanitarian assistance, as outlined in the Secretary-General's report We also welcome the United Nations coordination activities with donor countries, through the International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq, in partnership with Iraq's national development strategy. Now is the time to accelerate the mechanisms to implement the international commitments made in Madrid and reinforced in Brussels and Amman.

The level of disbursement from the International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq has improved, compared with 2004, but we are looking with concern at the spending level managed by the World Bank. We also support the Secretary-General's call to donor countries to provide the $107 million required for Iraq's elections, in addition to the amount set aside by the Iraqi Government.

We urgently need to improve basic services and the everyday standard of living. We need to accelerate capacity-building in the ministries, based on the principles of good governance and public accountability. We require a more concerted international effort, led by the United Nations, to speed up the distribution of donor funds and reduce system bottlenecks.

We are rebuilding our nation on the principles of human rights and equality, rather than on the mass graves and genocides of the past. But to succeed we must be self-appraising in our progress and, after two and a half years of freedom from dictatorship, we must also recognize that human rights development — the heart of a free and democratic nation — takes time. It requires constant education and the establishment of practices and institutions to uphold and protect individual, minority and public rights.

We acknowledge that there are some difficulties in the process of human rights development in Iraq. We are taking proactive measures to investigate any reported human rights violations through independent inquiries and parliamentary committees. We remind the Security Council that the ability of the United Nations and human rights non-governmental organizations to be able to work in our country and compile human rights reports is in itself a positive achievement. We welcome all international human rights organizations, and encourage them to have a presence in our country.

We salute the European Union's JUST LEX initiative aimed at bringing our security and police forces and penal and legal officers up to international human rights standards of practice.

But as we enshrine our human rights in a new Constitution, we know that our future cannot be determined in ink. What happens on the ground will determine how far we can translate our vision into a more promising reality.

The gravest human rights violations in Iraq today are the senseless atrocities inflicted upon us by terrorists. We are bearing the brunt of thousands of our people being slaughtered by foreign extremists or thugs of the former regime, bitter for having lost their iron grip on Iraq's riches. They have only a nihilistic message, but no agenda, for Iraq or for the region, except to prevent, through a deadly cycle of violence and terror, democratic ideals from taking root.

Our efforts to rebuild and stabilize Iraq are being challenged at every step, and we expect terrorists to step up their attempts to create civil tension and prevent national unity ahead of the constitutional referendum. The battle being fought in Iraq is not ours alone, but a fight to protect the freedoms of the rest of the civilized world. Many Security Council members present today have been affected by terrorism. There is a moral obligation to relieve the Iraqi people of their burden, and we appreciate the sacrifices and the work of those multinational forces that support us in Iraq. Despite the bravery of our own fledgling forces, we cannot do it alone.

The more we build our security and military capabilities, the sooner the multinational troops can go home. Increasingly, Iraqi forces are successfully taking over areas of responsibility from the multinational forces, as we saw recently in Tal Afar, Najaf and other bases in the country. But this is a multifaceted effort. We need more training, better intelligence, better forces and better coordination. There is an ongoing need for continued support from the multinational forces to complete the job and to help us to build a professional, non-politicized force answerable to a democratically elected Government.

We again ask our neighbours to root out elements of terror and join us in regional strategic cooperation. Neighbouring countries have responsibilities towards Iraq that they have agreed to through bilateral or ministerial meetings, and which fall under resolution 1546 (2004) and the more recent resolution 1618 (2005). But there are differences in the way in which neighbouring countries respond. We feel strongly that, unfortunately, there is a lack of political will in Syria with regard to its commitments to Iraq. Regrettably, the bulk of foreign fighters are coming across the Iraqi-Syrian border, and the Syrian Government has yet to demonstrate serious cooperation in helping us to stop that transit.

We repeat our call upon our neighbours to tighten border controls, act forcefully against hateful propaganda and demonstrate clear action to stem the tide of terror. The alternative to peace is bloodshed and endless violence by an emboldened enemy with an established base from which to export its murderous campaign. The terrorists know that, and so do we.

Global terror has never been more of a threat. Iraq stands alongside New York, attacked on

11 September 2001, Madrid, Beslan, London and Sharm el-Sheikh as a wake-up call. We must show no sign of weakness. We are determined to rebuild our country. We are ready to fight anyone who seeks to return us to tyranny through the barrel of a gun or a suicide mission.

I wish to reiterate to the Security Council that as long as conditions require it, we need the help of the Multinational Force. To rebuild, we also need the arrangements for the Development Fund for Iraq to continue. To lead the international effort, we need UNAMI to increasingly fulfil the role outlined in Security Council resolution 1546 (2004).

Finally, Iraq is proud to stand with the other nations of the world as a country that upholds the core values of the United Nations Charter. But Iraq also provides the test case for success or failure. Nowhere are the goals of freedom, democracy and progress more at stake. We know our clear way forward, but we need your help. We need the help of every Member nation and of the Organization to win this fight. We must stick together, or we will lose together. Now is the time when determination and perseverance are most needed. The more intense the engagement now, the sooner we will be able to stand on our own feet and defend a democratic, united, prosperous and free Iraq. There is surely no worthier goal.

The President: I thank Mr. Zebari for his statement.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, the next meeting of the Security Council, which will continue the consideration of the item on its agenda, will be held in private immediately following the adjournment of the present meeting.

The meeting rose at 3.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5267

Security Council

Distr.: General
21 September 2005

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 5267th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 21 September 2005, at 4.05 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 5267th meeting, held in private on 21 September 2005, the Security Council considered the item entitled 'The situation concerning Iraq'.

"In accordance with the decisions taken at the 5266th meeting, the President extended an invitation, under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, to His Excellency Mr. Hoshyar Zebari, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq and, under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, to Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq.

"The members of the Council, Mr. Qazi and Minister Zebari exchanged views."

05-51815 (E) 210905

United Nations S/PV.5268

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5268th meeting

Thursday, 22 September 2005, 12.15 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mercado	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Djeffal
	Argentina	Mr. García Moritán
	Benin	Mr. Idohou
	Brazil	Mr. Duarte
	China	Mr. Li Junhua
	Denmark	Mr. Faaborg-Andersen
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Kitaoka
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Dolgov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Johnston
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mrs. Taj
	United States of America	Mr. Olson

Agenda

The situation in Burundi

Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Burundi (S/2005/586)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-51942 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Burundi

Special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Burundi (S/2005/586)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Burundi, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nkingiye (Burundi), took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2005/586, which contains the special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Burundi.

After consultations among members of the Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council took note of the Secretary-General's special report on the situation in Burundi (S/2005/586) dated 14 September 2005, in particular the proposal to establish a partners' forum as an international support mechanism.

"The Security Council also took note of the declaration adopted on 13 September 2005 in New York during the summit on Burundi, co-chaired by the Secretary-General and the President of the Republic of Uganda in his capacity as Chairman of the Regional Peace Initiative for Burundi.

"The Security Council welcomes the decision taken during the summit to establish a forum of Burundi's partners and encourages the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to conclude discussions with all concerned partners in order to establish the forum as soon as possible.

"The forum should work with the Government of Burundi in consolidating peace and national reconciliation in Burundi, supporting reforms being undertaken by the Government and in enhancing donor coordination, and work in close coordination with the peacebuilding commission once it is operational.

"The Security Council also reiterates its call to the donor community to pursue bilateral and multilateral efforts to support the country."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2005/43.

The Security Council thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5269

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5269th meeting

Friday, 23 September 2005, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Argentina	Mr. García Moritán
	Benin	Mr. Idohou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	Denmark	Mr. D. Christensen
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Smirnov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Mahiga
	United States of America	Mrs. Patterson

Agenda

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

Report of the Secretary-General on the Sudan (S/2005/579)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-52087 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

Report of the Secretary-General on the Sudan (S/2005/579)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2005/579, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the Sudan. Members also have before them document S/2005/599, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1627 (2005).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.20 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5270

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5270th meeting

Friday, 23 September 2005, 10.20 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	Benin	Mr. Idohou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Romania	Mr. Motoc
	Russian Federation	Mr. Smirnov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Mahiga
	United States of America	Mrs. Patterson

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-52093 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Alvaro de Soto, Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and Personal Representative of the Secretary-General.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. De Soto to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Alvaro de Soto, Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and Personal Representative of the Secretary-General. I now give him the floor.

Mr. De Soto: In the early hours of 12 September, Israel withdrew the last of its military personnel and installations from the Gaza Strip, the first such withdrawal from occupied Palestinian territory since 4 June 1967. Furthermore, as of 20 September, and following the completion of the evacuation of civilian army infrastructure from four settlements in the northern West Bank, Israeli forces put an end to their permanent presence in the area of the evacuated settlements.

On 20 September the Quartet, meeting in New York, welcomed that development, paid tribute to the political courage of Prime Minister Sharon, commended the Israeli Government, its armed forces and its police for the smooth and professional execution of the operation and expressed its appreciation for the responsible behaviour of the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian people for helping to maintain a peaceful environment during the evacuation.

Facing vociferous opposition, the Israeli Government has proved its ability to carry out democratic decisions in the general interest while knowing that they would cause pain and disruption to a significant number of its citizens. The exemplary consideration shown by the Israeli armed forces towards those affected, on some of whom carefully measured force had to be employed, shows that they can be held to the highest standards in dealing with civilians.

In his statement last week at the High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly, Prime Minister Sharon said to the gathered leaders that the Palestinians "are also entitled to freedom and to a national, sovereign existence in a State of their own" (*A/60/PV.5*). By withdrawing from the Gaza Strip and ending military law there, he said, "[T]he State of Israel proved that it is ready to make painful concessions in order to resolve the conflict with the Palestinians". Looking ahead, the Prime Minister added,

> "Successful implementation of the disengagement plan opens a window of opportunity for advancing towards peace, in accordance with the sequence of the road map. The State of Israel is committed to the road map and to the implementation of the Sharm el-Sheikh understandings. And I hope that it will be possible, through them, to renew the political process". (*Ibid.*)

The timing of Israel's disengagement was not the result of an agreement with the Palestinian side, but of a unilateral Israeli decision. However, all relevant sectors of the Palestinian Authority worked diligently and constructively to coordinate with their Israeli counterparts, with the good offices and assistance of James Wolfensohn, the Quartet's Special Envoy for Disengagement; General William Ward, the United States Security Coordinator; and other international actors, the Egyptian Government prominent among them. Early fears that the operation might have to be conducted under fire were dissipated. Palestinian armed groups by and large held back from violent action against settlers. The Israeli settlers, armed forces and police withdrew in peace. The habit of coordination developed among Palestinians and Israelis in the last few months is a valuable asset on which to continue building in the coming period.

With regard to Quartet engagement and activities, the Quartet met at the United Nations on 20 September to discuss the Israeli withdrawal and the prospects for movement towards peace in the Middle East. A statement was issued following the meeting, and the principals held a press conference. I can therefore spare members of the Security Council a detailed exegesis. However, I should like to highlight a few issues that were discussed.

One was how to take advantage of the momentum gathered and move ahead. It was essential to bring about an early improvement in the daily lives of Palestinians. Quick-impact, employment-generating projects are envisaged for that purpose, but it is also urgent that the parties should come to resolution on the four issues related to movement of persons and goods, out of the six issues identified by James Wolfensohn. The Quartet also focused on the need for renewed action in parallel by both parties on their obligations, in accordance with the sequence of the road map. Elections are foreseen soon in occupied Palestinian territory, and possibly in Israel down the road. Bold initiatives will have to await the propitious moment.

Another issue discussed by the Quartet was that of armed groups and the political process in the Palestinian territories. The Quartet noted that the Palestinian Authority leadership has condemned violence and has sought to encourage Palestinian groups who have engaged in terrorism to abandon that course and engage in the democratic process. "Ultimately", said the Secretary-General speaking on behalf of the Quartet at the subsequent press conference,

> "those who want to be part of the political process should not engage in armed group or militia activities, for there is a fundamental contradiction between such activities and the building of a democratic State". (*Press release SG/SM/10115*)

In response to questions, Quartet members made clear, against that background, that they viewed the forthcoming legislative elections as part of a transition towards a democratic system. That must be a Palestinian process, on which Palestinians must be in the lead. They should be able to count on the necessary cooperation of all concerned so that the transition proceeds successfully.

Beyond disengagement, the Quartet urged the parties to return to the cooperative agenda agreed upon at Sharm el-Sheikh and to avoid unilateral actions that prejudice final status issues. The Quartet reaffirmed that any final agreement must be reached through negotiations between the parties and that the new Palestinian State must be truly viable, with contiguity in the West Bank and connectivity to Gaza.

While noting that in Gaza and the northern West Bank Israel had in fact acted beyond its obligations as provided in the first phase of the road map, the Quartet expressed its concern that settlement expansion elsewhere must stop and urged Israel to remove all unauthorized outposts. The Quartet continued to note with concern the route of the Israeli separation barrier, particularly as it results in the confiscation of Palestinian land, cuts off the movement of people and goods and undermines Palestinians' trust in the road map process, as it appears to prejudge the final borders of a Palestinian State.

With regard to disengagement, I do not need to dwell on the details of the withdrawal referred to in last month's briefing and earlier in this presentation. It was executed with surprising speed and well in advance of the scheduled dates. There are no longer any Israeli military personnel or installations, and what has been left behind is being dealt with in accordance with understandings reached between the parties. United Nations agencies and programmes are working in support of the goals laid down by the Quartet. The success of those activities will depend, to a great degree, on swift and efficacious access and on an adequate security environment, particularly in the Gaza Strip, so that United Nations agencies can operate safely and effectively.

With regard to security and violence, in last month's briefing we referred to the worsening in the Palestinian internal security situation during the run-up to the withdrawal and immediately afterward. The killing, apparently an extrajudicial execution, of former security chief Musa Arafat, and the chaos of spontaneous Palestinian celebrations in the wake of Israeli withdrawal, particularly at the Egyptian border, underscore the need for credible action by the Palestinian Authority to bring the perpetrators of past violent actions to justice.

It was reported by the Palestinian Authority that, amid the Palestinian celebrations at Rafah following

Israel's withdrawal, some light arms had been smuggled into the Gaza Strip. Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas pledged to prevent further border infiltrations. On 15 September, as the Egyptian border police force was completing its deployment along the Philadelphi route, the border with the Gaza Strip was closed, ending four days of large-scale free passage in both directions. The border remains closed.

Violence continued elsewhere during the past month. This morning Israeli special units killed three Palestinians in Tulkarem, and rockets were fired from Beit Hanoun into Israel. Earlier in the month a Palestinian stabbed two yeshiva students, one British and one American, in the Old City of Jerusalem, killing one and injuring the other; the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) killed five Palestinians in Tulkarem; and a Palestinian suicide bomber blew himself up in Beer Sheva in Israel. Home-made rockets, mortar shells and anti-tank missiles were also fired from different locations inside the Gaza Strip towards Israeli-controlled areas and nearby Israeli towns, though at a significantly decreased level. During the reporting period, a total of 15 Palestinians, in addition to one foreigner, were killed.

On barrier construction and settlement activities, the construction of Israel's West Bank barrier is progressing rapidly in those parts of the route which have not been contested in court and for which judicial orders to suspend construction have not been issued. As of 1 July 2005, approximately 215 kilometres had been completed and 176 kilometres are under construction, or about 58 per cent of the barrier's total length.

When my colleague, Ibrahim Gambari, head of the Department of Political Affairs, briefed the Security Council a month ago (see S/PV.5250), he mentioned land requisition orders to allow the extension of the barrier around Jerusalem eastward so as to envelop the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim, which has elicited great concern, as it could have the practical effect of bisecting the West Bank. Construction of this segment of the barrier has not begun. As concerns the controversial E1 plan for settlement construction in the area between Jerusalem and Ma'ale Adumim, the Deputy Prime Minister recently reiterated Israel's commitment to keep it frozen, while reiterating Israel's intention to build it in due course.

I turn now to the question of closures and movement restrictions. In a June 2004 report entitled "Disengagement, the Palestinian Economy and the Settlements", the World Bank stated that

> "Palestinian economic recovery depends on a radical easing of internal closures throughout the West Bank, the opening of Palestinian external borders to commodity trade, and sustaining a reasonable flow of Palestinian labour into Israel".

In James Wolfensohn's words, based on the Bank's findings, "without the re-establishment of free movement inside the West Bank, a viable Palestinian economy is not possible".

Since the beginning of 2005, there has been a 37 per cent reduction in the number of internal obstacles on roads in the West Bank, including checkpoints. These obstacles now number 376, according to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). Much of the reduction has been in the northern West Bank, where movement has been freed up in line with disengagement from four northern West Bank settlements. Obstacles have also been removed in the western area of the West Bank, where the barrier is under construction, making many of those obstacles redundant.

The biggest impact of this easing is to improve Palestinian access to health and education services, particularly from villages to main towns. It is unlikely, however, that this will result in a significant improvement in the economic situation, as delays still occur as a result of random vehicle checking and restrictions on movement entering and exiting from main cities, especially Jerusalem.

Through a series of discussions, OCHA and the IDF have reached a common understanding on the number and location of checkpoints and other obstacles, albeit with minor differences in definition. Further dialogue with the Palestinian Authority and the Israel Defense Forces, with the aim of easing restrictions on Palestinian movement, combined with a more in-depth examination of the impact of physical obstacles, is being conducted by OCHA.

The withdrawal of Israeli soldiers resulted in the removal of internal movement restrictions imposed by Israel in the Gaza Strip. Tight restrictions continue on issuance of permits for Gaza Strip workers in Israel and the Erez industrial estate at the north of the Strip. On 1 September, Palestinian merchants from the West Bank were allowed to enter Israel for the first time

since a general closure was imposed on 12 July 2005. Only a limited number of Palestinian workers with permits are allowed entry to Israel and East Jerusalem.

I now turn to the situation in Lebanon. On 19 September, Prime Minister Siniora presented his Government's plans for political, economic and institutional reforms to the core group ministerial meeting on Lebanon in New York. The Secretary-General and other members reaffirmed their intention to assist the Government of Lebanon in its efforts to institute reforms and achieve lasting stability. Another major challenge for the new Government is to implement effective reforms in the security apparatus. We were reminded of the importance of this last Friday when a new bomb went off in a densely populated area in eastern Beirut, killing one person and injuring more than 20. The Secretary-General strongly condemns this act of terrorism. He expresses the resolve of the United Nations, and indeed the international community, to assist the Government of Lebanon in its efforts to improve the security situation in the country and to bring to justice the perpetrators of this and other similar acts of terror.

While it appears that these acts have been designed to create panic and perhaps provoke reactions amongst the Lebanese public, our impression is that there has been a mature and calm approach in the face of these provocations. It is clear that the majority of Lebanese are determined not to have their progress towards a united, sovereign and democratic Lebanon derailed. We must continue to work to help the Lebanese achieve this.

Over this past month, the Blue Line also remained relatively calm, despite the firing of two missiles from Lebanese territory on 25 August. One landed close to the Lebanese village of Meis el Jabal, the other across the Blue Line close to a residential area of Kibbutz Margilot in northern Israel. Fortunately, there were no casualties. Hizbullah denied any involvement, and there was a claim of responsibility from Palestinian Islamic Jihad. However, it has not been possible to definitely establish who was responsible. It is nonetheless clear that this again underlines the need for the Government of Lebanon to exert its full authority in the south and prevent such violations from taking place.

Over this past month, there were seven Israeli violations of Lebanese airspace observed by the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), the latest on 22 September. On 8 September the Israeli authorities handed over the body of a Hizbullah fighter who had been killed in the Shab'a farms area on 29 June. The arrangements for this transfer were made through the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Tension increased on 16 September when two Lebanese shepherds who had crossed the Blue Line in the Shab'a farms area were apprehended by the IDF. UNIFIL liaison with both sides worked in the first instance to handle the issue in a calm, non-escalatory manner. This facilitated a resolution, with the IDF releasing the shepherds the next day through UNIFIL.

Allow me to close with a few personal comments. The objective benefits of the recently concluded disengagement from Gaza and the northern West Bank are obvious and fairly easy to itemize. The Palestinians have experienced the joy of the departure of the occupier; the Israelis are no longer saddled with the unrewarding, Sisyphus-like grind of securing a piece of land in which, to paraphrase Prime Minister Sharon's 15 August speech, squalor and resentment are untenably juxtaposed with prosperity. Israel has demonstrated that it can make the sacrifices that are required to make peace; the Palestinians have shown self-restraint in the face of unilateral decisions and tight time frames. Forces of moderation have prevailed over those of extremism to mingle again — dare I say it? — in a shared mainstream of moderation and willingness to compromise. A mechanism for coordination at all levels is in place and is working. A basis has been laid for a true partnership, which should encourage each party to understand and address the other's legitimate needs and concerns.

The Israeli need for security has led them to install, encroaching on Palestinian occupied territory, a barrier — a generic term encompassing a combination of grid fences, barbed wire, trenches, electronic devices, watch towers and, in some places, most prominently around Jerusalem, a dauntingly high and very forbidding-looking wall. In addition, Israel runs a system of roadblocks and checkpoints — some stable, some intermittent — to control the movement of persons and goods into and throughout much of the West Bank.

Apart from impeding economic revival, to many Palestinians — and I speak here of the millions who have no connection with, or sympathy for, those who

resort to violence, and who merely wish to move about to earn their living or visit their separated loved ones, attend school or seek medical care — the barrier and the closures, and the travails of traversing them, are a source of humiliation and a constant check on their aspiration to one day run their own affairs. The expense incurred in the building of the barrier raises doubts in some minds as to its stated provisionality. Questions have also been posed as to whether the purpose is only to ensure security.

Beyond the relief of recovered land and freedom of internal movement, the Palestinians who live in Gaza will wonder what has changed if this is not followed by their ability to link up with their brethren in the West Bank and in the outside world.

While Israelis should understand those considerations and recognize that it is ultimately in their interest to address them, Palestinians for their part must understand, accept and address Israel's need to be assured of the safety and security of its citizens. Countless innocent Israelis have fallen victim to terrorist acts, and Israelis have a right to demand that this should cease. Palestinians — not just the leadership and not just the mainstream — must accept that there can be a solution to the conflict between Israel and Palestine only in the framework of two States living alongside each other and sorting out their differences peacefully and respectfully. They must renounce the resort to violence as a means to achieve their ends, however legitimate these may be. Those who have carried out acts of terror or instigated them should understand that this has rendered the achievement of the goal of a State in which Palestinians live in freedom and dignity more distant rather than the contrary.

It is often overlooked that security, broadly writ, is not just an Israeli requirement. The Palestinian people at large demand that law and order be established in the streets, which means not only an efficient police but also a reliable court system and an end to impunity and to corruption. The Palestinian Authority is the underpinning for a still incipient State-to-be; the Palestinians understandably expect it to discharge the responsibilities which normally fall to the Government in a State. As members of the Quartet said on Tuesday, 20 September, at their press conference, the Palestinian Authority is in transition to democracy. It must be seen by the Palestinians that it is indeed pointed in that direction and moving toward it. The political will of the Palestinian Authority must be unequivocal.

Development of a State run by the rule of law, in which the Government holds the monopoly over the instruments of violence — clearly a Palestinian interest — goes hand in hand with the strengthening of Israel's sense of security. A State at peace with itself generates security in its neighbours.

Let me conclude with this thought. It is unfortunately difficult to circumvent the classic chicken-and-egg conundrum: Israeli leaders demand an end to violence before addressing further Palestinian concerns; Palestinian leaders find it difficult, for their part, to persuade extremists to restrain themselves and accept to work toward a democracy if they are unable to point to a visible prospect of satisfaction of their legitimate goals on the horizon.

Beyond disengagement, it is difficult to see how this conundrum can be resolved, and the process moved forward, other than by the discharge, in parallel, of the parties' respective obligations, which is the approach of the Quartet in the road map, which has been endorsed by the Council. In the light of the mix of facts created on the ground and declarations of intent by Israel, many Palestinians wonder about the prospects for a viable Palestinian State down the road. Only Israel can persuade them that this is still achievable and thus encourage them to work cooperatively toward that goal. For their part, the Israelis have reason to query whether the State that is emerging next door will be a good neighbour. To renew the Israelis' faith, the Palestinians would have to show that they indeed will be such a neighbour, by making concrete and convincing efforts to end violence. Thus, understanding each other's needs and concerns, the parties would advance on parallel, mutually reinforcing tracks.

The President: I thank Mr. De Soto for his comprehensive briefing.

In accordance with the understanding reached earlier, I shall now suspend the meeting and invite Council members to informal consultations. Thereafter, I shall resume the meeting in order to read out a statement by the President.

The meeting was suspended at 10.55 a.m. and resumed at 12.15 p.m.

The President: After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council supports the statement issued in New York on 20 September 2005 by the Quartet, which is annexed to this statement.

"The Security Council urges the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority to cooperate, along with other parties concerned, with the efforts to achieve the goals set out in the Quartet statement.

"The Security Council calls for renewed action in parallel by the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority on their obligations in accordance with the road map, to ensure continued progress towards the creation of an independent, sovereign, democratic and viable State of Palestine living side by side with Israel in peace and security.

"The Security Council stresses the importance of, and the need to achieve, a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East, based on all its relevant resolutions including its resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973), 1397 (2002) and 1515 (2003), the Madrid terms of reference and the principle of land for peace."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2005/44.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5271

Security Council

Distr.: General
29 September 2005

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 5271st (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Thursday, 29 September 2005, at 10 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 29 September 2005, the Security Council, pursuant to resolution 1353 (2001), annex II, sections A and B, held its 5271st meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC).

"Briefings were made pursuant to rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure by Mr. William Lacy Swing, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Lieutenant-General Babacar Gaye, Force Commander of MONUC.

"Members of the Council, representatives of participating troop-contributing countries and the briefers exchanged views."

05-52953 (E) 290905

United Nations S/PV.5272

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5272nd meeting

Friday, 30 September 2005, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Li Junhua
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Haneda
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. McKenzie Smith
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Grenell

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Nineteenth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2005/603)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-53154 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.22 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Nineteenth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2005/603)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2005/603, containing the nineteenth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Members of the Council also have before them document S/2005/614, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to a vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1628 (2005).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.20 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5273

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5273rd meeting

Friday, 30 September 2005, 10.20 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Baja	(Philippines)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Baali
	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Li Junhua
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Haneda
	Romania	Mr. Dumitru
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. McKenzie Smith
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Grenell

Agenda

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991

Identical letters dated 14 September 2005 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the General Assembly and to the President of the Security Council (S/2005/593)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-53160 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991

Identical letters dated 14 September 2005 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the General Assembly and to the President of the Security Council (S/2005/593)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them photocopies of a letter dated 14 September 2005 from the Secretary-General, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2005/593.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2005/615, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Algeria, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1629 (2005).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.25 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5274

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5274th meeting

Tuesday, 4 October 2005, 12.50 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Motoc	(Romania)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Djeffal
	Argentina	Mr. García Moritán
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	Denmark	Mr. Christensen
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Kitaoka
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Russian Federation	Mr. Smirnov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Yee
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mrs. Taj
	United States of America	Mr. Brencick

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-53434 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.50 p.m.

Expression of condolences

The President: At the outset, I should like, on behalf of the members of the Security Council, to express our deepest sympathy and condolences to the victims of the terrorist attacks that took place in Indonesia on 1 October 2005.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of October, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to Mr. Lauro Baja Jr., Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of September 2005. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Baja for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Indonesia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Jenie (Indonesia) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council condemns in the strongest terms the terrorist bombing that took place in Bali, Indonesia, on 1 October 2005, which has again fallen victim to a heinous act of terrorism.

"The Security Council expresses its deepest sympathy and condolences to the victims of these attacks and their families, and to the people and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.

"The Security Council underlines the need to bring the perpetrators, organizers, financiers and sponsors of these intolerable acts to justice, and urges all States, in accordance with their obligations under international law and resolution 1373 (2001), to cooperate with and provide support and assistance, as appropriate, to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in this regard.

"The Security Council reaffirms that terrorism in all its forms and manifestations constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security, and that any acts of terrorism are criminal and unjustifiable, regardless of their motivation, wherever, whenever and by whomsoever committed.

"The Security Council further reaffirms the need to combat by all means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts.

"The Security Council reiterates its determination to combat all forms of terrorism, in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2005/45.

I give the floor to the representative of Indonesia.

Mr. Jenie (Indonesia): Let me express the full appreciation of the Government and the people of Indonesia for the recognition and prompt attention that has been paid by the Security Council to the tragic bombings in Bali last Saturday. We are mindful of this concern for the tragic and senseless attacks on ordinary people leading ordinary lives.

Let me also take this opportunity to express the condolences of the Government of Indonesia to those families and nations that lost people in the brutal attacks of the weekend.

In condemning the latest Bali attacks, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono stressed that they were "clearly acts of terrorism because the victims were indiscriminately chosen and the targets were public areas". All of Indonesia is understandably horrified by this brutal tragedy, which is being speedily investigated. The perpetrators will be made to account for their actions.

Let me make one point very clear. The Government of Indonesia will not be derailed in its efforts to create an open, democratic society. We will not be blackmailed or scared away from our efforts to enhance development. We will not succumb to terrorism or to any other kind of organized crime. We will continue to cooperate with other nations which are working hard to develop a comprehensive response to terrorism. We know that, in the end, terrorism will be defeated.

As for Bali, we know that its status as a front-line tourist destination will not change or be destroyed by terrorists hoping to scare visitors away. Bali will recover, it will continue to grow, and it will continue to receive visitors from all over the world. We will work hard on this front.

Finally, let me restate the belief of the Government of Indonesia that our approach to combating terrorism should include efforts to win the hearts and minds of the people. We must enhance efforts to promote tolerance and peaceful coexistence by empowering the moderates of our society.

The President: The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5275

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5275th meeting

Tuesday, 4 October 2005, 1 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Motoc	(Romania)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Djeffal
	Argentina	Mr. García Moritán
	Benin	Mr. Zinsou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	Denmark	Mr. Christensen
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Kitaoka
	Philippines	Mr. Baja
	Russian Federation	Mr. Smirnov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Yee
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mrs. Taj
	United States of America	Mr. Brencick

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-53440 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 1 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Uganda in which they request to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table; the representatives of the other aforementioned countries took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2005/603, containing the nineteenth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

I should also like to draw the attention of members to document S/2005/620, which contains a letter dated 3 October 2005 from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

(*spoke in French*)

"The Security Council takes note of the special report of the Secretary-General (S/2005/603) dated 26 September 2005, on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). It expresses its concern over the presence of foreign armed groups, which continue to pose a serious threat to stability in the eastern part of the country.

"The Security Council deplores in this regard the failure of the Forces démocratiques pour la libération du Rwanda (FDLR) to proceed with the disarmament and repatriation of their combatants, and exhorts them to do so without further delay and in accordance with the declaration that they signed in Rome on 31 March 2005.

"The Security Council recognizes the attached decision, taken on 16 September 2005 by the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, acting within the framework of the Tripartite Plus One Commission, to set the deadline of 30 September 2005 for FDLR to disarm or otherwise to face measures intended to compel them to do so. FDLR can no longer remain as an armed group in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

"The Security Council demands that FDLR seize this opportunity to proceed voluntarily with their disarmament and return to Rwanda without any delay or preconditions.

"The Security Council commends the political and military pressure placed on FDLR by the Congolese Government and MONUC.

"The Security Council welcomes the steps taken by the Government of Rwanda, with the support of the international community, to peacefully repatriate FDLR members returning to Rwanda, in accordance with the applicable norms of international law and with respect for the rights and freedoms of the human person. The Council encourages the Government of Rwanda to continue to give the widest publicity to its commitments.

"The Security Council demands the full cooperation of FDLR with the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha,

particularly with regard to the arrest and transfer of indictees who remain at large.

"Moreover, the Security Council notes with concern the incursion of members of the Lord's Resistance Army into the Democratic Republic of the Congo and welcomes the intention of the Congolese Armed Forces to disarm this group in cooperation with MONUC and in accordance with its mandate as set out in resolution 1565 (2004).

"Further, the Security Council calls upon all armed groups in the Great Lakes region of Africa to act without delay to lay down their arms and join the processes of political transition under way in the region.

"The Security Council calls upon the States of the region to deepen their cooperation with a view to putting an end to the activities of illegal armed groups. It recalls its adherence to respect for the sovereignty of all States and underlines that any recourse to the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of a State is contrary to the purposes and principles set out in the Charter of the United Nations."

(*spoke in English*)

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2005/46.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5276

Security Council

Sixtieth year

Provisional

5276th meeting

Tuesday, 4 October 2005, 6.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Motoc	(Romania)
Members:	Algeria	Mr. Djeffal
	Argentina	Mr. García Moritán
	Benin	Mr. Idohou
	Brazil	Mr. Tarrisse da Fontoura
	China	Mr. Cheng Jingye
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan	Mr. Kawakami
	Philippines	Mr. Mercado
	Russian Federation	Mr. Dolgov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Thomson
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mrs. Taj
	United States of America	Mr. Bolton

Agenda

The situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

05-53609 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 6.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultations among the members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council expresses its grave concern at the decision of the Government of Eritrea to restrict all types of United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) helicopter flights within Eritrean airspace or coming to Eritrea, effective as of 5 October 2005, which will have serious implications for UNMEE's ability to carry out its mandate and for the safety of its staff.

"Recalling all previous resolutions and statements of its President regarding the situation between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the Security Council emphasizes that the aforementioned decision of the Government of Eritrea gravely contravenes the Council's call in resolution 1312 (2000) on the parties to provide UNMEE with the access, assistance, support and protection as the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities signed in Algiers on 18 June 2000 between the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Government of the State of Eritrea (S/2000/601).

"The Security Council further underlines the need for implementation of the decision of the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission without further delay, which will enable UNMEE to fulfil its mandate.

"The Security Council reaffirms that both parties bear the primary responsibility for the implementation of the Algiers Agreements and the decision of the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission.

"The Security Council calls upon the Government of Eritrea to immediately reverse its decision and to provide UNMEE with the access, assistance, support and protection required for the performance of its duties. It also calls on both parties to cooperate fully and expeditiously with UNMEE in the implementation of its mandate.

"The Security Council also calls on both parties to show maximum restraint and to refrain from any threat of use of force against each other.

"The Security Council reiterates its call upon both parties to achieve a full normalization of their relationship including through political dialogue between them for the adoption of further confidence-building measures and to consolidate progress achieved so far."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2005/47.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.